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# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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1 October 1985

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EAST-WEST RELATIONS

U.S. ACCUSED OF POISONING ATMOSPHERE OF REAGAN-GORBACHEV MEETING

LD010158 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 31 Aug 85

[Commentary by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] And now, Moscow Viewpoint, our Saturday commentary by Valentin Zorin:

When the news came there would be a Soviet-American summit the whole world showed its approval. The Soviet people for one, were very pleased. Not because they expect 2 days of talks between the leaders of our two countries will work miracles and solve all the outstanding problems, Soviet people are well aware of the serious differences between us. But because they understand that a summit could be an important step toward finally solving the problems on which so much in the world depends.

After years of confrontation a summit requires considerable psychological as well as diplomatic preparation, of course. With this in mind the Soviet leadership made a number of important foreign policy moves. For one, it announced it was suspending all underground nuclear explosions unilaterally. Since it had yet to complete a planned series of tests, this move was anything but a gesture for the sake of propaganda. What's more the administration in Washington was given advance notice that such a moratorium would be announced. This underlines the fact it was not undertaken as mere propaganda.

Washington has behaved quite differently in the run up to the summit. I can't remember any time in the past when the American administration has, in a matter of weeks, undertaken so many provocative acts against the Soviet Union. As soon as this country announced a moratorium on underground nuclear explosions, Washington demonstratively staged another nuclear test in Nevada. It also chose this particular time to announce it was about to test a new antisatellite system, though it knows full well how much significance the Soviet Government attaches to preventing an arms race in space. And even these provocative acts seemed insufficient to Washington officials. So a fantastic story was invented that United States diplomats in Moscow are sprayed with a chemical powder to make it easier for the Soviet authorities to keep track of them.

I don't know how many of you were taken in by this absurdity, but it stands to reason that when people are subjected to a daily brainwashing by the news media and films like "Rambo," they can begin to believe almost anything and not even demand hard facts to prove it. In still another bid to poison relations with the Soviet Union, the American authorities have refused to grant entry visas to a group of Soviet filmmakers who wish to shoot a movie about the famous 1937 flight over the North Pole to America of a crew, led by the pilot Valeriy Chkalov. And finally, a kind of pinprick by the State Department, Soviet officials were refused permission to attend a Soviet-American volleyball game in San Francisco.

This then, is of little importance, of course, compared with the demonstrative underground nuclear test in Nevada, but it puts the final touch to the way Washington is behaving at a time when there should be energetic preparations for the summit. It looks as if some people in the administration and around it, are trying to poison the atmosphere of the summit in advance and, may even be pursuing more far-reaching goals.

CSO: 1812/343

1 October 1985

## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

## U.S. ACCUSED OF BEING OUT TO WEAKEN, SPLIT OPEC

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 32, Aug 85 pp 22-24

[Article by Ruben Andreasyan]

[Text]

The oil-producing developing countries, primarily those belonging to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, have a long-standing and steadily growing bill of complaint to present to American imperialism. For decades U.S. oil monopolies, with the direct backing of the U.S. government, rapaciously exploited the main natural wealth of these countries through the fettering system of concessions imposed on them. In order to perpetuate and increase their lush profits and to ensure the leading capitalist countries an uninterrupted supply of this important energy source, the monopolies and government of the U.S., in league with the ruling circles of other Western powers, interfered in the internal affairs of the oil-rich countries, engineered coups, suppressed popular uprisings, and provoked bloody wars between these countries.

Though compelled to give up their concessions in the seventies under pressure from national liberation movements, the oil trusts retained strong positions in the transportation, refining and marketing of oil. At the same time they engaged in sinister machinations to create an energy crisis. The decline of profits from operations in the developing countries, growing inflation, and the high cost of extraction in new oil fields in the North Sea and Alaska prompted them to have oil prices jacked up. To evade responsibility for this highly unpopular trend, they covertly impelled OPEC to do this, knowing that its members wanted to put an end to unwarrantedly low pricing of raw materials. As a result, in 1973-74 OPEC increased oil prices to an economically justified level determined by the effective demand. Whereupon the bourgeois press set out to persuade the Western public that the greedy oil exporters, above all the Arabs, were to blame for all ills—

inflation, the crisis, unemployment—and succeeded in doing so. Meanwhile, the monopolies garnered unprecedented profits from the rise in the prices of oil and petroleum products.

The second eruption of the energy crisis, in 1979-80, was directly provoked by the American monopolies involved in the international oil cartel formed as far back as 1928. Taking advantage of the decline in the export of oil from Iran after the revolution in that country, they sharply cut down on the supply of oil to the U.S. market and induced the American government to buy fuel and diesel oil in Western Europe, thereby causing a shortage of this most important of energy sources in the West European countries. As a result prices soared at the spot market in Rotterdam. The members of OPEC which also sold oil there to the monopolies under long-term contracts were likewise forced to increase their prices so as not to be the losers and to level off the consequences of inflation. The capitalist mass media of course again accused OPEC of "robbing" the West.

The U.S. monopolies took advantage also of the embargo proclaimed by the Arab oil exporters in October 1973 on the sale of oil to the direct and indirect accomplices in the Israeli aggression, primarily the U.S. The slight reduction in oil supply was seized upon to create a rather acute temporary shortage. Disquieted by the political crises in the Middle East, the Western powers, under U.S. pressure, set up an anti-OPEC association of oil importers—the International Energy Agency. In many Western countries reserves of oil sufficient to meet three months' consumption were built up. It was all very costly of course, but that is the price the West has had to pay for U.S. complicity with Israel and the Washington-inspired war between Iraq and Iran.



The U.S. and British oil trusts are out to weaken and split OPEC, inasmuch as the existence of an independent cartel of developing countries whose interests objectively run counter to those of the West is not acceptable to imperialism. The U.S. has had recourse to no end of expedients against the OPEC. It has held out the threat of occupation of Arab oil fields, economic blackmail has been brought into play, and differences between OPEC members have been artificially provoked and fanned.

In recent years the U.S. has stepped up efforts to compel OPEC substantially to cut oil prices, and the oil monopolies have mounted an offensive to capture the traditional export markets of the Organization's members. The United States counts on reduction of oil prices helping to scale down the inflation rate and to improve the overall economic situation in line with President Reagan's programme. Washington believes that the reduction of the OPEC oil price in 1983 from \$34 to \$29 per barrel helped the U.S. to emerge from depression and to enter the recovery phase. When in February this year OPEC again reduced the price of light Arabian oil by \$1 per barrel, stock prices on Wall Street went up. Now that the economic growth rate has dropped and a slump is looming ahead, the U.S. again banks on a further reduction of liquid fuel prices.

Strange though it may seem, the U.S. monopolies operating in this sphere of industry, too, are interested in the reduction of oil prices. Even the lifting of price controls on domestic oil has not resulted in a boom. Extraction increased by only 1 per cent in 1984, when an upswing was registered. Exploratory drilling continues to be curtailed because of the rising cost and unsatisfactory results. Positive oil reserves are diminishing. In these circumstances the U.S. ruling quarters and oil monopolies have decided to adhere to the policy of saving natural oil deposits as a strategic reserve and to increase the import of liquid fuel from other countries, primarily the developing, at lower prices, of course. The monopolies have good grounds for expecting that the profit bonanza will continue, selling as they do petroleum products at prices far above those they pay OPEC members for crude oil.

To achieve their ends, the oil monopolies and the U.S. Administration have had recourse to a series of anti-OPEC actions.

The monopolies have begun to release their reserves to the market. In the first quarter of this year supplies from this source ran to about 2 million barrels a day.

The American trusts exert constant pressure on the British National Oil Corporation to reduce the price of North Sea oil. The British are told that such cuts would be compensated for by the higher profits attendant on increased extraction and capture of OPEC markets. Britain and Norway have indeed expanded extraction so much as to be able to cover almost the whole increase in demand in the Western countries. Oil production in Britain increased between 1982 and 1984 by 22 million tons, and in Norway, by 10 million tons. At present British output is running at an annual level of nearly 150 million tons—more than Saudi Arabia. It should be mentioned that the imperialist policy is spearheaded against the so-called "radical wing" of OPEC—Algeria, Libya and Nigeria, which are exporters of light oil similar to the British and Norwegian and, hence, are hardest hit.

Neither London nor Oslo will even hear of coordinated action with OPEC to stabilize the oil market, expecting it to reduce output to prevent prices from collapsing. At the last session of the energy ministers of the International Energy Agency countries held this month, the U.S. categorically rejected the proposal advanced by Sweden, Austria and Holland for a dialogue with OPEC and insisted on extraction and prices being regulated exclusively by the blind forces of the market. In other words, it demanded giving the U.S. monopolies a free hand on the oil market.

It is these monopolies, directly and through front firms, that have increased the sale of oil on the Rotterdam spot market to almost half of all liquid fuel exports in the capitalist world. Already last year this reduced the share of OPEC in world export to 68 per cent, as against nearly 90 per cent in the late seventies.

In order further to undermine the influence of the members of this organization, Britain and Norway, with the consent of the U.S. oil companies if not on their insistence, have begun to avoid concluding long-term contracts for the sale of oil and to give up the practice of agreeing prices in advance, and prefer to sell at Rotterdam spot market prices.

The U.S. has reduced the share of the OPEC countries in its oil imports from 90 per cent in 1978 to 44 per cent last year. The Arab countries are subjected to particular discrimination. In February this year 24 per cent of the United States' oil imports came from Mexico, 14 from Canada, 12 from Indonesia, 8 from Britain, 7 from Nigeria, 6 from Venezuela, and 4 per cent from Saudi Arabia. In 1983 the U.S. declared an embargo on the import of oil from Libya.

The American press is waging veritable psychological warfare against OPEC predicting that prices will fall to something like \$15 per barrel in the near future. The absurdity of this figure is evident if only from the fact that it is considerably below the cost of extraction in the North Sea and in the north of the American continent. Clearly, a price cut to such a level is not acceptable to either the U.S. or Britain.

Actions of this order evoke legitimate indignation in the OPEC countries. On February 13 the Indonesian Observer wrote that the U.S. strategy was aimed at creating a united front against OPEC, the object of the economic war unleashed against it being the weakening of this organization. The Algerian El Moudjahid has stressed that "the oil octopuses and the Western ruling quarters upholding their interests have worked out and are vigorously giving effect to a whole range of measures aimed at artificially bringing down prices on the world oil market.... The activity of the oil monopolies is a glaring example of neocolonialist plunder of the developing countries."

The U.S. conspiracy against OPEC is also aimed at aggravating the adverse effect on that organization of increased extraction in developing countries that are not members of OPEC (Mexico, Egypt, Brazil, Argentina, Malaysia, India, etc.). At the same time, Mexico is seeking to coordinate its export policy with OPEC and refrains from the increase of both extraction and export of oil. A significant role has been played by measures to economize energy and to substitute other fuels for oil. The share of oil in energy consumption in the capitalist world declined from 55 to 45 per cent in 1973-83. Extraction in the OPEC countries dropped from 1.5 billion tons in 1979 to an annual rate of 725 million in May this year. This is less than the official 800 million-ton ceiling set by the organization. Saudi Arabia has had to reduce extraction from 500 million tons in 1979 to an annual rate of less than 100 million tons this summer. The chances of extraction in the OPEC countries increasing in the immediate future are practically nil, since, according to most forecasts, oil consumption in the capitalist world this year will remain practically at the previous level.

In these circumstances conflicts have sharpened also between OPEC mem-

bers as regards output quotas, as well as the prices of different grades of oil. Owing to the fact that the demand for heavy oil has latterly been growing rapidly in the developed countries, where it is widely used by new refining facilities, OPEC decided last winter to raise its price and slightly reduce that of light oil. The decision was opposed by light oil producers, above all Algeria and Libya, which wanted the previous price retained. In the course of the past year many OPEC members have in one or another way violated the agreed terms, exceeded their output quotas, and sold oil at discounts, open and concealed, in order to extricate themselves from serious financial difficulties. Even Saudi Arabia has had to withdraw some of its assets in the West to cover its expenditures. The overall earnings of the OPEC members have dropped from \$300 billion in 1980 to \$173 billion in 1984.

At their last conference, held in July in two rounds, the differences between OPEC members erupted once again. This time Saudi Arabia warned its partners in strong terms that unless they agreed to reduce prices, it would increase output and create a situation which could lead to a general substantial reduction of prices. A number of OPEC members objected. In the end, it was decided to reduce the prices of heavy and intermediate grades of oil somewhat, while retaining the old prices on light oil. However, Libya, Algeria and Iran did not agree with this. Despite their differences on this issue, the participants in the conference were unanimous that the set quotas should be firmly adhered to.

OPEC is living through difficult times. Champions of the true interests of the developing countries see the way out of the difficulties in the formulation of an agreed stand, in improving the mechanism of verification of the fulfilment of decisions, in strengthening unity in the pursuance of a common strategy in regard to the Western powers which are trying to destabilize the oil market and wreck the organization. "Passivity and the deepening of contradictions in OPEC accord only with the selfish schemes of the imperialist powers," the Syrian Tishrin rightly observed on July 23. Unquestionable too is it that the OPEC members are far from having exhausted their potential to counteract the imperialist conspiracy.

1 October 1985

## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

## U.S. MILITARIST AIMS IN AFRICA ATTACKED

Moscow INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS in English No 7, Jul 85 pp 70-77

[Article by B. Asoyan: "The Neocolonialists' Ambitions in Africa"]

[Text] **T**wenty-five years ago the tempest of decolonisation began its sweeping march across Africa. In 1960, which went down in history as "Africa Year", seventeen countries gained independence. Today the 50 sovereign African states, nearly a third of all UN members, have become a significant factor in international affairs.

In this connection it is essential to recall another "memorable date" in the history of Africa. This year has marked the centenary of the Berlin Conference where the European colonial powers sought to define and consolidate their "spheres of influence" in Africa. The living tissue of Africa was carved up with the plunderous daggers of "civilised nations". Peoples were broken up and historically formed cultural and economic ties were severed.

A "new order" was established within the new boundaries, openly aimed at destroying African culture and turning the colonies into a raw material appendage of capitalism. In those years the foundations were laid for the abnormal economic structure centred on the needs of the metropolitan countries.

Today, when Africa's economic situation is defined by many as catastrophic, the initial cause of its peoples' misfortunes is rarely mentioned. Yet the roots of Africa's present maladies lie precisely in the three-months-long Berlin Conference when the destinies of the unsuspecting African peoples were decided by the European powers. The continent was simply carved up, none of the European powers even pretending to hide their true aims, each out to get as good a piece as possible. Plunderers in the garb of diplomats gathered at the round table, a meeting which the British *Times* of those days specified as a "scramble for Africa".

At that time Africa was divided and plundered by Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Today the role of chief plunderer belongs to the USA.

**O**ne cannot help wondering why many Western specialists on Africa ascribe the reasons for nearly all its problems to the post-independence period, ignoring the very fact of its colonial past. Among the main reasons they single out the alleged inability of African leaders to manage their countries' economic affairs, their failure to give due attention to the privately-owned sector, and the "erroneous" choice of the socialist path of development.

While accusing the Africans of incompetence the apologists of neocolonialism claim that only capitalism with its "sound initiative" can draw Africa's economy out of its critical state. These demagogical formulas have a single aim—to shatter the African peoples' hopes of embarking on the road of independent development and improving the lives of millions of people.

The transnationals and international financial agencies under Western control hold the developing countries on a short "debtor's" lead. Their offers of "economic rehabilitation" are a far cry from the actual needs of the young sovereign states. Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda labelled the terms offered by the International Monetary Fund "terrible", for they exacerbate both political tensions on the continent and the sufferings of its peoples.

It cannot be said that the TNCs are not at all interested in promoting the development of economically retarded countries, for this would run counter to the expansionist policy of monopoly capital. The point is, however, that development after TNC models, above all serves monopoly interests rather than the interests of Africa's broad masses, the destinies of future generations, or the need for a considerate attitude to its natural resources. Just as one hundred years ago, Africa is today regarded in Western capitals as a third-rate appendage of the "civilised world".

Today Western predatory policy towards Africa has become still more impudent. It seems that capitalism is out to profit as much as possible from the Africans' tragedy, to squeeze everything it can from one who is already dying of hunger.

Death from starvation is now threatening 150 million Africans, or a third of the African population. The greatest ever drought in the history of the continent has exposed even more the fragile nature of its economy, which in many African countries is in a state of stagnation or even decline. According to a report on the critical situation in Africa, delivered by UN Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar at the 39th Session of the UN General Assembly, since 1980, per capita income in African countries had been decreasing by an average of 4.1 per cent yearly. In 1983 the fall in their export volumes was the biggest since 1974, and in 1985 their foreign debt topped \$150,000 million.

Throughout Africa the area under crops has been diminishing, and soils have grown poorer, vegetation is going to ruin and subsoil water is growing scarce. The water level of rivers has been dropping in all the ecological zones of the continent. Over 20 countries are suffering from an ever increasing shortage of water. According to UN data, by 1985 the situation had become critical in 36 African countries, and 27 of them are threatened by mass famine.

The reasons for such a state of affairs in Africa are of a dual nature. One certainly cannot disregard the economic mistakes and miscalculations of the young governments. Lack of experience, a desire to achieve quick results, corruption, ethnic and religious contradictions, and political instability in some countries—all affect their development.

Yet these facts alone cannot be held responsible for Africa's tragedy. At the 20th Session of the OAU Assembly (Addis Ababa, November 1984), most of the delegates expressed the unanimous opinion that Africa's ailments had been promoted by Western neocolonialist policy. According to acting OAU Secretary-General Peter Onu, the reason for the "unprecedented social and economic decline" lay chiefly in Africa's growing dependence on the imperialist powers and their shackling policy with regard to the African peoples. As the UN report stated, the situation pertaining in Africa was to a great extent the result of the world capitalist crisis and the predatory policy of the Western powers.

Yet hardly a day goes by without the US President demagogically speaking of his country's "generosity" towards the developing countries. Of late the number of US "gifts" to Africa has, indeed, increased. Moreover, the White House does not even conceal the true nature of this aid, which in the present international situation is but an instrument for solving "vitally important strategic tasks". This is precisely the descrip-

tion given it by former US Secretary of State, Alexander Haig in one of his speeches in Congress in 1982.

This statement was no slip of the tongue. Since then US leaders have repeatedly confirmed their endeavour to use the misfortunes of underdeveloped countries to their own advantage. Directive No. 124 of the US National Security Council, which was endorsed by the US President on April 1, 1984, makes no bones about the fact that aid will be given only to those developing countries that will refuse to support Cuba and Nicaragua and stop criticising Washington's foreign policy..

The so-called all-embracing initiative in rendering aid to the starving population in Africa, proclaimed a short while ago by the White House, cannot be regarded as anything but blackmail. Hiding behind demagogical slogans the US Administration demanded that, in exchange for its "aid", the African countries reject a progressive foreign policy course, approve US policy, and withdraw support for the national liberation movement in the south of Africa.

In January 1985 the US President supplemented the "all-embracing initiative" with a new programme of blackmail bombastically known as "Food for Progress". Here all the "i's" were dotted: aid would be rendered only to "obedient" countries. These actions on the part of the US Administration are tantamount to naked cynicism. As the Austrian newspaper *Volksstimme* commented, the West is out to blame "the poor" for their own poverty.

Washington has long been counting on famine as a reliable instrument of foisting its influence on Africa. The history of Africa's independent states contains many examples of the trans-Atlantic benefactors refusing to give food to those countries that had disapproved of aggressive US policy. Thus, some years ago Washington refused to help Mozambique with foodstuffs after the latter had exposed a CIA conspiracy to overthrow its government. In late 1983 Washington vetoed its former decision to help Zimbabwe as a means of punishment for its "too independent" foreign policy. However, the most eloquent example of its inhuman policy towards starving people was observed in Ethiopia.

Droughts and famine have been the scourge of the Ethiopian people for centuries. Nearly every ten years natural calamities have carried away tens of thousands of lives among Ethiopian peasants. The drought of 1971-1974 took a toll of more than 250,000 lives.

In the 19th century droughts were fought with prayers, and in the 20th century—by forbidding any mention of the very fact of their existence. To the day he died the last Ethiopian Emperor, Haile Selassie I, refused to acknowledge the death of thousands of peasants from starvation, putting a kind of imperial ban on the existence of drought and famine. It must be said that Western countries, above all the USA, which maintained the most friendly relations with the monarchy, remained impervious to the Emperor's crimes and would not lift a finger to improve the plight of the Ethiopian peasants. Needless to say, the bourgeois press, its masters' obedient mouthpiece, wrote nothing of Ethiopia's tragedy, and the information that did manage to leak through ascribed famine to the elements.

After the revolution of 1974 which led to the formation of the Socialist Ethiopia radical changes were introduced in the life of the peasants. A land reform was carried out in their interests and measures were taken to improve their living and working conditions. To combat drought a relief and rehabilitation commission was set up, which began to investigate the reasons for natural calamities and to render urgent aid to their victims. Under the guidance of the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, which was founded in 1974, the people began to implement a long-term programme for combatting drought. However, the ten years that have gone by

since the beginning of the revolution are much too short a time for achieving substantial progress. The more so since there are not only natural calamities to cope with but also a constant need to beat back the unceasing subversive actions of the counter-revolutionary and foreign forces of reaction.

When the first signs of a new drought appeared in 1982 Ethiopia's government immediately appealed to the international community for aid, making it known that two million Ethiopians were threatened with starvation. The West left this appeal unanswered. Suffice it to say that the USA did not allocate a single cent of its 1984 budget for aid to Ethiopia. The *International Herald Tribune* of November 19, 1984 quoted extracts from a letter received from a Catholic mission in Ethiopia. The letter held: "We have been agonising since November 1982 as to how to get the administration to turn around.... Our November request to USAID for 838 [metric tons] for distribution in Wollo did not receive a favorable response until May 1983."

In late October 1984 the White House made it known that it would send food to Ethiopia. One who is not well versed in politics may get the impression that the USA had sharply changed its subversive line in regard to this country and was sincerely eager to help solve its economic hardships.

However, as soon as Washington declared this decision it accused the Ethiopian leadership of its alleged inability and unwillingness to help the starving people. There were even slightly veiled calls to bring down the country's government. Official US representatives even claimed the right to take charge of distributing the American food deliveries in Ethiopia, particularly in areas suffering from counter-revolutionary raids, obviously intending to employ the people's tragedy for their own dirty political aims.

Although the promised US grain is being delivered to Ethiopia, and even then in small amounts, the White House is doing its best to create the impression that no other country in the world was rendering more aid to Ethiopia and other African countries than the USA. But Ethiopia's leader Mengistu Haile Mariam was quite explicit while speaking at a press conference dedicated to problems of famine: "It is absolutely useless," he said, "to compare Western aid with that of the socialist countries. It is precisely due to the economic assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the last ten years that our country was able to make more progress than in the 40 years before the Revolution."

The enemies of the Ethiopian people are out to use the famine to undermine the country's revolutionary gains and whip up religious and ethnic contradictions. On the pretext of rendering "aid to victims", the Western countries are stepping up subversive activities with the aim of discrediting the policy of Ethiopia's Party of the Working People, and supplying arms to the counter-revolutionary bands.

In reviewing the situation in present-day Africa one cannot bypass the problems of its southern areas. A year has gone by since the signing of the "Nkomati treaty" between the Republic of South Africa and Mozambique, and the "Lusaka agreement" between the Republic of South Africa and Angola. True to predictions, these agreements, which were claimed by South Africa and the West as an astounding diplomatic achievement for Pretoria, turned out to be merely another propaganda ploy aimed at deceiving world public opinion, breaking the foreign policy isolation barrier around the Republic of South Africa, and suppressing the liberation movement.

In the course of this year nothing has changed in South Africa's policy towards its neighbouring states. It has not ceased its aggressive,

destabilising actions and continues to assist the UNITA counter-revolutionary bands in Angola and the "Mozambique National Resistance". The racists are continuing to build up their military potential in Namibia so as to create favourable conditions for establishing a puppet regime. According to Angola's President Eduardo dos Santos, Pretoria is implementing a "vast destabilisation plan which has as its main objective the overthrow of the Angolan Government".

The actions undertaken by South Africa against Mozambique show that Pretoria is capable of direct attempts to bring down the Samora Machel government and establish a puppet regime. It continues to bank on terror and repressions in the country and undertakes acts of direct aggression against neighbouring sovereign states. This statement was made in the final document of the Fourth Conference of the African regional organisation of the World Federation of UN Associations held in February in Freetown (Sierra Leone). The South African authorities' declaration (which is much vaunted in the West) that they are out to achieve "peace and positive changes", is nothing other than an attempt to create new stumbling blocks on the road to a just normalisation of the situation in the south of Africa.

In Pretoria there is now talk of a "new stage of reforms" which is claimed ultimately to lead to the triumph of "justice" in South Africa. Such statements are zealously repeated in Western capitals, and above all in Washington, which is building up its cooperation with the racist regime in every possible direction.

However, all the activities of the Botha government are hinged to one invariable aim, namely, to perpetuate white supremacy and to preserve the regime based on racial discrimination. Despite the adoption of the new constitution, which provides for the limited participation of the country's Asian and mixed population in its government, life under the Botha government has become still more difficult for most of the country's citizens. The number of arrests without trial has gone up, and participants in protest meetings and marches are being accused ever more frequently of "high treason", which is punished by the death penalty.

Speaking on national TV in February 1985 President Botha enumerated those aspects of his regime that are not subject to discussion. Among the first was the maintenance of power by the white minority. He openly declared that Africans would never be admitted to Parliament.

However, every sound-minded person knows that apartheid is doomed and that nothing can save it. The movement to put an end to apartheid, which has embraced virtually all of South African society, is gaining momentum yearly. In reply to the racists' even more brutal repressions the patriots are enhancing their armed struggle, which according to Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, is an integral element of the general liberation movement. He stressed that if racism refused to lay down its arms this struggle would assume ever more rigid forms.

Despite the protests of the world public the US Administration continues its infamous policy of encouraging the South African racists. Washington hypocritically calls this "constructive cooperation". In his speech on an NBC television programme in January 1985 US Secretary of State George Shultz went so far as to say that the US policy was actually helping to improve the lives of the Africans, specifying that US capital investments provided them with jobs.

Statements of this kind, however, cannot hide the truth. The South African clergyman and Nobel Prize Winner Desmond Tutu said that the USA's policy of "constructive cooperation" with South Africa had only made things worse for the country's native population. According to the Reagan Administration blacks need not be reckoned with and can be exterminated. The USA had disgraced itself in the eyes of native South

Africans by supporting the shameful repressive system that brings suffering to the people of South Africa.

According to the well-informed American magazine *Covert Action* the policy of "constructive cooperation" was from the very start a policy of "constructive instigation". Its data shows that in 1981 the US President endorsed a secret directive envisaging vigorous terrorist actions against the independent states in the south of Africa. During the visits of CIA Director William Casey to South Africa in 1981 and 1982, several agreements were signed on joint action against Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and other "frontline" states in order to put an end to their support for the liberation struggle being waged by the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. The CIA, in violation of the ban imposed by the US Congress, resumed massive deliveries of arms, ammunition and financial resources to the terrorist UNITA grouping in Angola.

Although the US policy of "constructive cooperation" with South Africa has not only failed to yield the promised progress towards the elimination of apartheid, but has, in fact, opened the way for the racists' aggressive foreign policy, and the toughening of repressions inside the country, the present US Administration has confirmed its decision to continue this policy over the next four years.

A TASS declaration issued on May 1, 1985 noted that the USA and its Western allies "are trying in every way possible to prevent the Security Council adopting with regard to South Africa comprehensive and obligatory sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the UN Charter. They are continuing to maintain and expand ties with the racist regime of this country in the most diverse spheres." In this the apologists of "constructive cooperation" assert that the introduction of economic sanctions against South Africa would only infuriate Pretoria and place the Black population in an even more defenceless position. The position of the Africans, however, can hardly grow any worse, since the standard of living of the non-white population is already so low.

The truth is that the present Republican Administration has a vital interest in preserving the status quo in the south of Africa, and this means the continuing exploitation of millions of Africans, which brings immense profits to the US monopolies, and the uninterrupted inflow of strategic raw and other materials essential to US industry. Ultimately, the policy of "constructive cooperation" is aimed at changing the strategic situation in the south of Africa and bringing this region under South African and US influence. This is precisely why the USA has been siding with the racists and will keep up this policy.

In the south of Africa, the Horn of Africa and throughout the continent, US imperialism is out to counteract progressive regimes through its policy of force. In the last four years the US has made attempts to destabilise the domestic situation, overthrow the government, or organise the assassination of the head of state in no less than 15 African countries!

The subversive actions of US imperialism in Africa have always been spearheaded against states known for their independent foreign policy and their refusal to bow to the diktat of foreign monopolies. Among the permanent "target-countries" one finds Libya, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, the Seychelles, Tanzania and Ghana. By aiming their blows at progressive regimes, the enemies of independent Africa are out to undermine African unity, put an end to the anti-imperialist trend in the OAU's policy, and cleave Africa into antagonistic groups.

By resorting to subversive actions of different scope and scale the imperialist forces succeeded in wrecking the 19th OAU Assembly Session, which was to be held in the Libyan capital of Tripoli in 1982. Hopes were



running high in Washington that African unity would break down under the impact of artificially instigated conflicts and economic hardships willfully created by neocolonialism.

These hopes, of course, were not justified. Africa not only confirmed its unity but did not allow the OAU to be distracted from the discussion of vital problems. Only two countries, Morocco and Zaire, left the 20th OAU Assembly Session in protest against the participation of the delegation from the Sahara Arab Democratic Republic, which was admitted to the OAU by a majority vote.

It must be emphasised that under the present US Administration the role of the CIA's subversive actions has increased sharply. In the 1980s there was a sharp rise in its so-called secret-operations budget. The result was that during the Administration's first term the number of CIA secret operations increased no less than fivefold, nearly half of them being carried out against African countries.

The actions undertaken by the US Administration to increase military, political and economic pressure on Africa show that great significance is attached to the continent in Washington's strategic plans. The Pentagon's principal aim is above all to preserve and expand the US military presence in Africa and give it access to military bases in African and neighbouring countries.

One cannot ignore the fact that the activation of state terrorism and the growing number of provocations on the part of the USA and its main NATO partners compel African countries to rechannel their resources, meagre as they are, into defence, forcing them to purchase highly sophisticated and high-cost weapons.

Modern Africa spends a truly fantastic sum—no less than \$14,000 million yearly—for its defence needs. There are almost three million men in active service, the maintenance of each soldier amounting to \$8,000. One can only imagine the burden of forced military expenses it has to bear in the atmosphere of dislocation, poverty, famine and disease.

On the other hand, the NATO countries, with the USA in the forefront, annually force arms sales on the newly-free states in order to enhance their control over these countries. The export of arms, along with military "aid" to the so-called friendly states (among them South Africa), has long become an essential component of Washington's aggressive policy.

As the US President's directive of July 8, 1981 stated, the arms trade is regarded as a highly important means of strengthening the US military potential on a world scale. While flooding Africa with arms the US is entangling the continent in a network of military bases. Over 25 military facilities in Africa and contiguous areas are now accessible to the US military. A special place in the Pentagon's plans belongs to the multi-target base in Diego Garcia, in the modernisation of which the Reagan Administration has already invested around \$160 million. According to the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Chester Crocker, the US presence in Diego Garcia could be explained by Washington's global interests in that area, the term "global interests" meaning that, like other US military bases, the base in Diego Garcia was targeted first and foremost on the Soviet Union.

However, it would be wrong to think that the USA uses its military presence on African territory exclusively for anti-Soviet reasons. Obsessed by the idea of ruling the world, Washington made in the past and will continue to make attempts to control not only the policies of those countries where it has sited its bases, but the policies of their neighbours as well. The US rapid deployment forces, which have access to military facilities in Somalia, Kenya, Liberia, Sudan, Egypt and Morocco, are nothing less than an instrument for bringing pressure to bear on African count-

ries, pressure which the USA will not hesitate to use against the African peoples should it need to.

Seeking to drag the African countries into its far-reaching militaristic plans the US Administration would like to turn Africa into an arena of global military and political confrontation. As always, Washington presumptuously believes that the peoples of the developing countries are unaware of the true reasons behind the US manoeuvres to achieve these aims. Moreover, the US strategists are certain that this task will be made easier by increasing the African countries' financial and economic difficulties, and hence their dependence on the West. All this is wishful thinking. The peoples of Africa are far from indifferent to the ways of settling key issues of the times. They are growing ever more aware that in the conditions of global confrontation and mounting international tension, it is hardly possible even to speak of escape from the vicious circle of neocolonialist relations and the achievement of economic decolonisation.

Africa is moving into the second half of the 1980s with a burden of unsolved problems. The pressure of neocolonialist forces on the young sovereign states, which they are trying to bring under their total control, is still as strong as ever. In this arduous struggle to preserve their independence against imperialist diktat, the peoples of Africa, as before, can count on the selfless support of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

# INCREASES IN U.S. MILITARY BUDGET ATTACKED

PM040803 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Aug 85 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Konobeyev under the rubric "We Describe at Readers' Request": "Trillions for the Pentagon"]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers Guards Captain R. Shatilovskiy and Guards Senior Lieutenant S. Lopko ask us to describe how the U.S. arms buildup is reflected in its military spending.

We are meeting their request.

One day President R. Reagan gathered together U.S. journalists and instructed them: You should not write about 10 percent unemployment in the country, but about 90 percent employment. He resorted to similar verbal tricks on that not so distant day when he announced on radio: "For 3 years consecutively we have reduced our planned defense buildup and this year too we have reduced it again."

It is well known that the result of these "reductions in buildup" is an increase in U.S. military appropriations from \$146.5 billion in 1980 to \$292.6 billion in 1985, that is a twofold increase in 5 years. Even within the United States itself people are calling this increase another militarist record. However, the administration is using in its own favor the fact that it could have--as was planned--secured an even greater increase, but contented itself with a "mere" twofold increase.

What subterfuges has the U.S. Government not resorted to in order to push through Congress the federal budget for fiscal 1986, in which all but 30 percent of the funds requested are destined for military purposes. They include brandishing the hackneyed bugaboo of the mythical "Soviet threat." And big talk about the "need" to rearm the United States in order to conduct talks with the USSR "from a position of strength." This alone--this "position"--can allegedly ensure the success of the talks, success as the Americans understand it of course.

Congress has approved military appropriations to the tune of \$302.5 billion for fiscal 1986. This means that they will increase by another \$10 billion

in comparison with this year. It is planned to use these funds to maintain armed forces of 2,178,000 men (26,000 more than in 1985), increasing the number of army divisions to 18. It is planned to increase the numbers of ground- and sea-launched strategic missiles to 1,697 (34 more than this year), bringing the first 3 MX missiles and 48 sea-launched Trident-1 missiles into operation and gradually removing the obsolete Titan missiles from the armories. The navy's complement of ships is to increase to 555 units (13 more than in 1985).

The whipping up of the arms race in the United States can be judged by the following fact: Appropriations for arms production and for scientific research and experimental design work are increasing particularly markedly in the Pentagon budget with every passing year. Thus, in the next fiscal year, this increase will amount to \$5.4 billion and \$6 billion respectively. The two items will swallow more than 45 percent of the military budget (in 1981 it was 35 percent).

Multibillion appropriations are spent on building up and improving offensive nuclear means, belonging to the so-called strategic "triad," with which it is planned to upset the existing military balance.

The largest programs in fiscal 1986 include: continue development and financing of production of 48 MD missiles and the modernization of silos for them; the development of the single-warhead Midgetman missile and the development and preparation of production of submarine-launched Trident-2 (D-5) missiles; the building of yet another Ohio-class nuclear submarine; the building of an extra 48 B-1B strategic bombers; and many other projects.

At the same time, taking no account of the growing protests in West European countries, Washington does not conceal its intentions of continuing at any cost the deployment in West Europe of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles--first-strike nuclear means. Commenting on the U.S. administration's refusal to adopt the Soviet proposal to halt the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe and, at the same time, to halt the buildup of Soviet countermeasures, Britain's THE GUARDIAN writes: "The Pentagon's allegation of USSR 'military superiority' in Europe appears cynical and false."

Huge funds are being assigned for the development and buildup of general-purpose forces. For example, the program--planned for several years--for the production of nuclear weapon carriers such as F-16 fighter bombers is valued at almost \$50 billion. Many millions of dollars are being allocated for measures connected with the preparation of the notorious Rapid Deployment Forces for interventionist actions. Thus, it is planned to continue to create stockpiles of military hardware and equipment at U.S. depots near to the planet's so-called "hot spots." It is planned to deploy heavy armaments this year for another two U.S. army divisions in Europe in addition to the stockpiles for four divisions already created there.

Foreign observers have noted that the pace of buildup of offensive nuclear weapons is growing and will grow even more rapidly as the Pentagon prepares for "star wars." And the forced pace of these preparations, during which

Washington intends to create space strike weapons--known as "defensive"--in the illusory hope of ensuring for itself the possibility of making a first nuclear strike with impunity, can be judged again by the budget funds allocated. In fiscal 1986, \$2.9 billion are being assigned to the preparation and implementation of the aforementioned provocative plan, which is twice the amount allocated this year. It is planned to spend \$26 billion on the "star wars" program in 5 years, and a minimum of \$70 billion by 1993, according to specialists. The creation of an entire large-scale ABM space system, according to former U.S. military program to cost more than \$1 trillion.

Calculations in the Pentagon's offices are now done in trillions. In the 5-year period from 1986 through 1990, according to official data, U.S. military appropriations could approach the \$2 trillion mark. The tumultuous growth in military spending is the result of Washington's adopted course toward creating a superior force which would subjugate the whole world to the United States. The vain attempts aimed at realizing this reckless plan can only aggravate international tension even further.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

GENRI CALLS FOR BETTER RELATIONS WITH U.S.

PM050911 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Ernst Genri under the rubric "Historian's Notes": "What Detente Can Offer"]

[Text] The world's public, politicians, and mass media are focusing on M. S. Gorbachev's replies to America's TIME magazine. Numerous observers are noting that the Soviet Union's constructive and consistent course of strengthening peace and cooperation and curbing the arms race accords with the fundamental aspirations of all the world's peace-loving forces.

The world's public is currently anxious in a way it has not been for 4 decades now. That is no surprise. Everyone is looking at the international arena with concern. As Comrade M. S. Gorbachev noted, "This is a complex, tense, and I would even say explosive situation. Moreover, it is tending to deteriorate still further."

It would seem that there are no great wars taking place in the world now. The United Nations Organization--an instrument of peace entrusted with examining serious disputes and conflicts among powers and preventing military clashes--is in operation. Apart from neofascists, nobody now openly calls for aggressive adventures. It can be said that every sober-minded person on earth realizes what might happen if the threat of a great war is not eliminated very soon. It is quite obvious that no more waiting is possible. Closing our eyes to reality and postponing an accord among the powers on strengthening lasting peace is becoming mortally dangerous.

It is impossible to find anyone who does not realize this in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government is not slow to make peaceful proposals. Not a month, sometimes not a week, goes by without Moscow publicly advocating the rapid and businesslike settlement of the most urgent disputes among states, the transition to a new detente, and the rejection of the monstrous arms race which is spurred on by people overseas. "It is an indisputable fact," Comrade M. S. Gorbachev stressed in his talk with U.S. journalists, "that we are not only calling for an improvement in the situation and better relations, but coming out with entirely specific proposals as well as taking practical steps in this direction ourselves."

Thus, this April the USSR unilaterally introduced a moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and halted the implementation of other retaliatory measures in Europe in response to the siting of new U.S. missiles. In August it declared a moratorium on the holding of nuclear tests, expecting the United States and NATO to follow suit. What could do more to serve the improvement of international relations?

But Washington and certain other NATO capitals have either kept quiet or restricted themselves to ambiguous, entirely noncommittal phrases, avoiding a specific answer. The other day Washington officially rejected the Soviet proposals. It is becoming increasingly clear that Washington is not even thinking about ending the arms race, but, on the contrary, intends at all costs to achieve U.S. military superiority over the USSR. To that end preparations for the militarization of space are continuing with feverish haste.

It turns out that the United States and its allies are in fact prepared to risk mankind's fate, and risk it in a way that no one has done in all the millennia of world history. This is no fantasy but the indisputable reality of the eighties. It is now recognized by all serious unbiased observers even in the bourgeois countries. For instance, the academic world has been shaken.

Yet it is clear that in our time, at the end of the 20th century, mankind, living under conditions of lasting peace and the continuing scientific and technical revolution, could enter an era of an unprecedented and giant upsurge in culture, the economy, technology, science, and high living standards. It has never had that prospect before. If the arms race were to end and a prolonged guaranteed period of detente accompanied by mutually advantageous economic and scientific relations among all countries were to begin, it would be possible to start to realize people's cherished dreams. This would be felt by all our contemporaries and their children and grandchildren. The key to this is international agreement, primarily between the USSR and the United States. "We believe," Comrade M. S. Gorbachev stated, "that when it is a question of the leaders of powers such as the United States and the USSR, their analysis of the situation and their practical policy must be imbued with a sense of the immense responsibility they bear to their own peoples and all mankind."

The mere removal of all barriers in trade relations between the socialist and capitalist worlds would undoubtedly lead to prosperity for many countries. The joint exploration of space, for its part, would be an enormous achievement for everyone. The building of innumerable new houses, schools, and hospitals, extensive aid to the developing countries, and the retooling of the most varied areas of world industrial and agricultural production would all ensure long-term employment for millions of workers. And the key is still the same: abandoning the arms race.

Utopia? No, the facts decisively show the opposite. Let us recall that detente was a historical reality for a number of years. Let us recall that the joint "Apollo" flight by Soviet and American cosmonauts, when a further

expansion of this cooperation was widely expected, took place not so long ago. Let us go back further and recall that the Soviet Union and the United States were allies in the terrible World War II years and that President Roosevelt repeatedly called for a strengthening of these relations. It is also a fact that ordinary Soviet people and Americans can understand each other.

An agreement between the powers, first and foremost on the prevention of the militarization of space and nuclear disarmament, is not only necessary but possible. Anyone who closes his eyes to this bears a truly terrible, totally incomparable responsibility. All international life would acquire new, positive content after this. Not only the 20th century, which is drawing to its close, but the 21st century could progress in a different way from the present dramatic eighties.

Is such an outcome conceivable when one thinks of the West?

In this connection the world's press is noting the Soviet leadership's profound concern at the shortsighted and hopeless policy of the U.S. administration, which clearly lacks a sense of responsibility for the fate of the world. At the same time M. S. Gorbachev's idea that our countries simply cannot allow themselves to take matters to the brink of confrontation is being particularly stressed. This idea represents the genuine interest of both the Soviet and American peoples. Describing the political atmosphere on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, the mass media are citing Comrade M. S. Gorbachev's statement: "We are in a serious frame of mind and are preparing serious proposals for this meeting--whatever right-wing and other figures in President Reagan's entourage may say. If we did not believe in the possibility of a positive outcome to the meeting we would not go to it. That is our position."

That is how the immediate opportunities are being viewed in Moscow.

Yes, there are still fanatical anti-Soviet figures in the United States occupying influential posts and they will undoubtedly continue to do everything to wreck the talks between the USSR and the United States at all costs. They are politically irresponsible people. I recall how Senator George (Erl), a friend of the anticommunist President Truman and one of the fathers of the "cold war," stated soon after World War II, when the Soviet Union did not yet have atomic weapons: "One small bomb dropped on the Kremlin, and the Russian people would fall to pieces as if by centrifugal force." On another occasion the same Truman supporter said: "We can and will destroy every city, population center, and village in Russia."

Such people have not died out overseas. Their anticommunism has really become a mania in the literal, medical sense of the word. They are served to this day by squads of handpicked journalists who spread absurd fabrications about a "Soviet threat." It is also true that backward laymen in the United States, especially in small towns, still take these fictions at face value. The public is constantly assured that the Soviet Armed Forces exceed the U.S. Armed Forces, that the Pentagon wants to save the country, and that finding a solution to disputes without a nuclear and space siege of the socialist world is impossible.



At the same time U.S. reactionaries are strengthening their deal with West German militarists who dream of revenge. The West German Bundeswehr, now the most powerful army in West Europe, has become the number one U.S. ally. The attempts to give it nuclear and other mass destruction weaponry with U.S. consent continue. It is quite obvious--this must not be forgotten either--that the revanchists in the FRG are thinking not of peaceful coexistence but of a third world war, and that is why they are delightedly marching in step with the anti-Soviet forces overseas.

Consequently, it cannot be denied that the international situation remains extremely serious. And yet the keys to the future are in the peoples' hands, not the hands of the present-day militarists. How this century will end and how the 21st century will look ultimately depends on them and on you and me. As for our country, every one of its citizens is prepared to subscribe to M. S. Gorbachev's statement: "War will never come from the Soviet Union, we will not start it." That is the most important thing that not only the Americans but all the world's peoples should realize.

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1 October 1985

WESTERN EUROPE

## 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF MOSCOW TREATY BETWEEN USSR, FRG MARKED

FRG CP Chairman Comment

LD091348 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 9 Aug 85

[Report by TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn August 9 TASS--TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy reports:

The Moscow Treaty signed fifteen years ago is a solid foundation for the development of political, economic and cultural relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union, said Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party. The experience accumulated over these years, he said in a TASS interview, is evidence of the enormous significance of the Moscow Treaty for strengthening peace in Europe.

Nowadays that the international situation has deteriorated through the fault of the U.S. administration pursuing a policy of the arms race and confrontation, of rabid anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, the Moscow Treaty is an important element of ensuring peace and maintaining inter-state relations, Herbert Mies pointed out.

That treaty, Herbert Mies stressed, has sealed the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different public and political systems. The present-day political developments convincingly confirm that there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence.

A further strengthening of peace is possible only if the FRG ruling circles return to a realistic detente policy. We need a new phase in detente, an improvement of the international situation, a general improvement in international relations.

To strengthen the atmosphere of trust, it is necessary to observe strictly the spirit and letter of the Moscow Treaty and other treaties of the FRG with the socialist countries. Official Bonn should pursue a policy that would be directed at putting an end to the arms race, at preventing the militarization of outer space, Herbert Mies pointed out.

Together with the other peace-loving and democratic forces in the country, the chairman of the German Communist Party stressed, the West German communists declare for such a political orientation of the FRG.

'Cornerstone in Edifice of Detente'

LD091220 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 9 Aug 85

[Commentary by TASS commentator Alexey Grigoryev]

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS--TASS commentator Alexey Grigoryev writes: August 12, 1970, is a memorable date in the history of relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany. It is on that day 15 years ago that the historic Moscow Treaty was signed, ushering in the period of new, constructive, truly goodneighbourly relations between the two states and peoples. It has also opened the way to productive cooperation on a broader scale between European capitalist and socialist countries, between East and West.

Signed in the Soviet capital in August 1970 and subsequently ratified by the parliaments of both countries, the Moscow Treaty entered into force on June 3, 1972. It has drawn a line on the preceding lengthy period of tension in Soviet-West German relations and laid the essential political and legal groundwork for establishing goodneighbourliness and peaceful mutually beneficial cooperation between the two states with different social systems. It is especially significant that the treaty has included the two countries' commitment on the fundamental issue of European security--the issue of existing state borders in Europe.

Before the Moscow Treaty relations between the FRG and the USSR were permeated by the spirit of "cold war." We stood at opposite poles on nearly all international questions. It took quite a big effort to change that state of things for the better. As it set about accomplishing that task, the Soviet Union proceeded from the conviction that the heavy past should not overhang the Soviet people and the West Germans as the sword of Damocles, eclipsing prospects for the future. It is to fostering goodneighbourly relations and preventing a recurrence of the tragedy of the past that the principled course of Soviet foreign policy has been geared, unaffected by any short-term considerations.

It is known that in the FRG attempts were made to block the way to normalizing relations between the two countries. There erupted bitter wrangling around the Moscow Treaty's ratification by the Bundestag. But having taken the decision to ratify the document, the West German parliament has expressed the will of the overwhelming majority of the FRG's population. The policy of reason and good will has won a resounding victory.

Much has been done over the past years to fill the Moscow Treaty with concrete contents and back it up with practical activities. Political contacts at the highest level have expanded the horizons of mutually

advantageous links and lent powerful impulses to the development of trade, economic cooperation and cultural exchanges between the two countries. The orientation of the USSR and the FRG at long-term business cooperation is also orientation at peaceful coexistence, at goodneighbourliness which benefits all since it reinforces the material foundation of peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The 40th anniversary of the routing of German fascism, marked this year by the world's peoples, has served a forceful reminder of how important it is to solve without delay the acute question of ensuring security for the peoples of the European continent. The task is all the more pressing as there are forces in the world, including those in the FRG, which have not drawn the proper conclusions from the lessons of the past war, which talk out loud, without at all feeling ashamed, about making Europe into a "theatre of operations" and impudently advance political demands and [words indistinct] to socialist countries neighbouring on the FRG. Revanchism in any manifestation and form glaringly contradicts the provisions of the Moscow Treaty as well as the treaties signed by the FRG and other socialist states.

The Moscow Treaty has become an important landmark also on the way to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, whose 10th anniversary has just been commemorated with an international meeting in Helsinki. The document signed 15 years ago in Moscow has laid a cornerstone in the edifice of detente and reflected a new approach to the problems of ensuring peace in Europe--the common home for its peoples.

#### TASS Report

LD091532 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 9 Aug 85

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS--On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Moscow Treaty between the USSR and the FRG the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation issued a statement pointing out that the treaty has been an important link in the process of European peaceful settlement and is by right rated among the most important political acts, which led Europe to Helsinki, where the Final Act, which has become a European peace charter, was signed ten years ago.

The Moscow Treaty, the statement stresses, is based on the realization of the fact that peace in Europe can be preserved only on condition that the borders which shaped on the continent after the routing of Nazi Germany are inviolable.

The positive effect of the Moscow Treaty both on bilateral Soviet-West German relations and the general European climate is indisputable, the document says. Yet one shall not close eyes to other things. Over recent years, events have been taking place in Europe and outside it running counter to the interests of the European nations. Thus, the continuing deployment on the FRG's territory of U.S. Pershing-2 and cruise missiles poisons the general political atmosphere in Europe. The intensification of the activities of the FRG's militant circles demanding a revision of the borders and even

1 October 1985

"restoration of the Reich within the borders of 1937" can become a most dangerous detonator of tensions and confrontation.

The Soviet Committee of European Security and Cooperation said that the Soviet public will do its utmost to support any efforts and initiatives, whose aim is a further strengthening of European security, peace and cooperation for the benefit of the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

'Step Toward Strengthening Peace'

LD111951 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 11 Aug 85

[Commentary by Viktor Levin]

[Text] The 15th anniversary of the signing of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG in Moscow falls tomorrow. Here is Radio Moscow's commentary. Viktor Levin is at the microphone:

[Levin] This treaty is known in the history of international relations as the Moscow Treaty and it is referred to as such in relevant documents. For example, one could cite the report of the conversation that took place between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl, the FRG chancellor, on 14 March. The report says that the Soviet side reaffirmed the USSR's principled line aimed at developing relations with the FRG based on the Moscow Treaty; respect for existing territorial and political realities and due consideration for each other's security interests.

Recognizing the borders that have taken shape as a result of, and following, World War II constitutes the essence of the Moscow Treaty--its foundation. Article 3 of the treaty says that now and in the future the USSR and the Federal Republic see as inviolable the borders of all European states as they stood on the day the treaty was signed--including the Oder/Neisse line which forms Poland's western border and the border between the FRG and the GDR.

Soon, in December the same year, 1970, a similar treaty was concluded between Poland and the FRG on the basis of the Moscow Treaty; relations were subsequently normalized between the FRG and the GDR and between the FRG and other socialist states.

Now, looking back on the events of 15 years ago and their consequences, one can say with complete confidence that the treaty between the USSR and the FRG has played a very considerable role not just in the development of bilateral relations between our states, but it has also become one of the cornerstones of detente on the European continent--the spirit of which was embodied in the CSCE Final Act.

The Moscow Treaty was a step toward strengthening peace, and those who attempt to attack it today, or put in doubt the basic principle of inviolability of borders, wittingly or unwittingly fan tension. Such forces, to be sure, existed in the FRG 15 years ago; now, enjoying support from

certain government circles, these forces are increasing attacks that are inimical to good-neighborliness and peace.

However, the whole practice of implementing the treaty shows that it corresponds to the vital interests of both the USSR and the FRG; and any attempt to undermine the treaty is full of serious danger for the FRG itself.

The USSR is invariably faithful to the spirit and letter of the Moscow Treaty. We are ready to continue to build our relations with the FRG on its principled basis. At the same time, however, it is necessary to repeat that the FRG's policy on questions which touch upon the interests of security of the USSR and its allies will be significant for the further development of relations between the two countries.

#### Revanchists Attacked

LD121032 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0230 GMT 12 Aug 85

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Petr Fedorov]

[Excerpt] Today is the 15th anniversary of the signing in Moscow of a treaty between the USSR and the FRG. At the basis of this document, which has gone into the history of international relations as the Moscow Treaty, is a recognition of the frontiers which took shape as a result of and following World War II. Twenty-five years after, the sides affirmed that they regarded the borders of all states in Europe as indestructible then and in the future, in the form which they took on the day the Moscow Treaty was signed, including the western border of the PPR on the Oder and Neisse and the border between the FRG and the GDR. May I remind you that on the basis of this document, an analogous treaty between Poland and the FRG was signed at the end of the same year, 1970, and some time later relations between the FRG and the GDR, and between the FRG and other socialist countries, were normalized.

In the 15 years of its existence the Moscow Treaty has not only played an important role in the development of bilateral relations between our states, but has also become--as is generally recognized--one of the cornerstones of detente on the European continent, and has made possible the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

It is known that there are revanchist forces in West Germany which have attempted, and are still attempting, to cast doubt on the existing borders in Europe. However, soberminded politicians in the FRG understand that these attempts are fraught with danger above all for the FRG itself. For instance, Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the SPD Faction in the Bundestag, pointed to the importance of the treaty signed 15 years ago, and stressed that at the current time it is essential to follow a new phase of the policy of detente and peace. A positive response from the West, above all the United States, to the Soviet proposal to establish a mutual moratorium on nuclear explosions could be an important step in this direction. However,

as you know, the U.S. administration has refused to support the Soviet Union's unilaterally declared moratorium on such tests.

#### PRAVDA Reports Speeches

PM161035 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Aug 85 p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] A meeting of representatives of the Soviet public dedicated to the 15th anniversary of the Moscow Treaty between the USSR and the FRG was held on 12 August in Moscow.

It was emphasized in the report by L. M. Zamyatin, chairman of the USSR-FRG Society, and in the speeches that the treaty, which was based on the principles of the inviolability of European borders and nonuse of force in disputed issues, provided strong impetus to the whole process of detente in Europe in the seventies. It defined the fundamental framework of relations between the two countries and exerted a favorable influence on the whole complex of interstate relations on the continent. The document promoted the rapid development of state, political, trade, and economic links and the expansion of cultural and scientific cooperation between the USSR and the FRG. The Soviet Union advocates that relations between the two countries should continue to be based on the positive experience accumulated during the implementation of the treaty.

Taking part in the meeting were B. Yazkuliyeu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Z. M. Kruglova, chairman of the presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and other officials, and also a delegation of the Federation of the FRG-USSR Societies headed by its president, Bundestag Deputy D. Sperling, FRG Charge d'Affaires Ad Interim in the USSR (A. Arno), and deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party Bundestag faction H. Ehmke.

#### Leonid Zamyatin Speech

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 13 Aug 85 pp 1-4

[Text] There was a meeting of representatives of the Soviet public in Moscow on August 12 to mark the 15th anniversary of the Moscow Treaty between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany.

It was pointed out in the report by the chairman of the "USSR-FRG" society, Leonid Zamyatin, and in other speeches, that the Treaty based on the principles of the inviolability of European borders and non-use of force in interstate disputes had imparted strong momentum to the whole process of European detente in the 70s.

The Treaty, said L. Zamyatin, put an end to a long period of tension in the relations between the USSR and West Germany. Fully meeting the aspirations of the Soviet and West German peoples for peaceful cooperation, the Moscow

Treaty imparted a powerful impetus to the whole process of detente in the 70s and played an important role in consolidating the international positions and the prestige of West Germany.

Leonid Zamyatin went on to quote Mikhail Gorbachyov who said earlier that "the provisions of the Moscow Treaty have not lost their relevance today. Moreover, in our opinion, in conditions of the aggravated international situation and of the growing war danger any deviation from them would be contrary to the interests of stopping the arms race and of strengthening European and global peace".

"It needs mentioning", the speaker continued, "that it is our firm conviction that the deployment on West German soil of new American first-strike nuclear-missile systems targeted at the USSR is at variance with the letter and the spirit of the Moscow Treaty."

The road towards military detente chosen in Helsinki by 33 European states together with the US and Canada is being blocked with most up-to-date missiles and other weapons of mass destruction. Together with Pershing-2 and cruise missiles we are having an atmosphere of animosity, instability and unpredictability exported to our continent.

The American arms conveyor, L. Zamyatin went on, is beginning to work for the "Star Wars", too. We, Europeans, are being persuaded that nuclear weapons can be disposed of only through the militarization of space by way of the so-called "strategic defense initiative" which will ostensibly render such weapons "impotent and obsolete". "One gets a strong impression that certain circles in West Germany are prepared to play the same leading part on this issue as they did in the deployment of American missiles. This would doubtlessly lead to most negative consequences for the relations between the USSR and West Germany".

"The pioneer character of the Moscow Treaty", the speaker pointed out, "lies in the very fact that by saying enough is enough to the chilly past, the sides displayed readiness and determination to develop goodneighbourly relations based on due regard for each other's security interests and on the recognition of the postwar European realities, which primarily refers to the inviolability of all European borders". The question of borders and of postwar settlement in Europe is settled once and for all, he said. By recognizing the inviolability of European borders and by pledging to respect the territorial integrity of all European states, West Germany thereby also recognized the incontestable fact that the existence of two sovereign and equal states, the GDR and FRG, was from now on a "support frame" of any viable structure on our continent and a guarantee of peace in Europe. Despite this there are still politicians in West Germany today who insist that the German issue remains "open" and that the borders of some European states are "not final" but only "temporary". In other words, there are people who even four decades after the Second World War cannot or refuse to understand that the German Reich burned in the flames of the global conflagration which had been started by Hitler's fascism.



There are also people who are trying to pass our well-justified criticism of revanchist statements for an attempt by the Soviet Union to "vilify" West Germany and its people, said L. Zamyatin. This clearly has nothing to do with reality. We have never put the people of West Germany on a level with the revenge-seekers. We are aware of the fact that the majority of West German people have no desire to return to the track of animosity and confrontation with their neighbours in Europe. We take due note of the official statements by West German leaders about their intention to carry on with their country's Ostpolitik on the basis of continuity and the treaties signed earlier. We make a positive appraisal of everything which means a practical search for ways of restoring detente in East-West relations.

The experience of the 70s has convincingly shown that the USSR and West Germany can find mutually acceptable solutions by working together in the interests of European and global peace, said L. Zamyatin. That is why we are calling for a sparing attitude towards all things positive that link our countries and unite our people.

Referring to Soviet-West German cooperation, the speaker pointed out that the existing cooperation reserves and opportunities can only be put into effect under the terms of peace and detente.

That our country sincerely wishes to live in peace and to cooperate with all states is emphatically confirmed by the ever new Soviet initiatives in the international arena, he said. "The Soviet Union is not seeking military superiority over anybody, it rejects the bully approach to international affairs and is not looking for a nuclear duel. We do not need any 'potential enemies'."

I would like to repeat in all certainty, said L. Zamyatin, that we are in favour of constructive, upward development of Soviet-West German relations with necessary regard for the basic factor which is security. It is our common duty to do everything in order that peace which has been preserved in Europe for 40 years now should remain firm and unshakeable in the future.

(PRAVDA--TASS, August 13. In full).

CSO: 1807/478

WESTERN EUROPE

## CONTINUED DENUNCIATION OF FRG INTERFERENCE IN AFGHANISTAN

### FRG's 'Hostile Attitude'

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 8 Aug 85 pp 1-2

[Text] Kabul, 7 Aug (TASS)--The charge d'affaires of the FRG in Afghanistan has been summoned to the DRA Foreign Ministry, where he was declared a strong protest over Bonn's repeated interference in the internal affairs of Democratic Afghanistan.

It was pointed out that despite a number of warnings concerning the FRG's hostile actions against Afghanistan, such actions far from ending, have, on the contrary, become more frequent. Facts indicate that the FRG authorities send into the DRA's territory its agents, who participate in criminal actions of anti-Afghan counterrevolutionary gangs and carry out espionage missions, and upon returning to the FRG spread lies and slander about the situation in Afghanistan. The actions of Juergen Todenhoefer, an FRG Bundestag deputy, are an example of such activities.

Recently three agents from the FRG unlawfully penetrated Afghanistan's territory. They prepared a slanderous television programme with the participation of counterrevolutionaries, in which they not only spread lies about the revolution in the DRA, but also tried to distort the essence of the internationalist aid rendered to the Afghan people by the Soviet Union. Thus the FRG authorities have once again demonstrated their hostile attitude to Afghanistan and their anti-Sovietism.

All this is convincing evidence of the fact that the FRG ruling circles following in the footsteps of the policy of state terrorism pursued by the United States, support the criminal activities of Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

The FRG charge d'affaires was told that this policy is in conflict with the generally recognised norms of international law. It can in no way contribute towards preserving normal relations between the two countries and a political settlement around Afghanistan.

The DRA Foreign Ministry demanded that the FRG immediately stop hostile actions against Democratic Afghanistan.

(PRAVDA, August 8. In full.)

SPD Leader Hit

PM241237 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 85 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "In Another's Voice"]

[Text] Bonn, 2 Aug--The West German Social Democrats' hostile policy toward revolutionary Afghanistan is evidenced by a selection of statements by a number of leading party figures published here by the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]. These thoroughly spurious "documents" in point of fact repeat right-wing propaganda fabrications in connection with events inside and around Afghanistan, which is waging a selfless struggle against external and internal enemies.

The "statements" show that some people in the SPD leadership are not averse to speculating on Afghani affairs, not disdaining here to repeat the notorious lies of Afghan counterrevolutionaries and the subversive special services of the West.

CSO: 1812/339

## WESTERN EUROPE

### SPAIN'S GONZALEZ ATTACKED FOR POLICY CHANGES, BROKEN PROMISES

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 32, Aug 85 pp 14-15

[Text]

Although it is now nearly a month since the reshuffle of the Spanish government (Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez announced it on July 3) both the Spanish press and the foreign media are continuing to comment on the event. The interest is generated, above all, by the unexpected nature of the reshuffle—the first in the 31 months of Socialist government. Ministers responsible for the main areas of government activity have left the Cabinet. These are the Foreign Minister, Fernando Moran, and the Minister for Economics, Tax and Trade, Miguel Boyer. The reasons for their resignations are different. Whereas Boyer apparently acted under the influence of his emotions (he announced his resignation virtually at the last moment, thus taking the head of the government completely by surprise), Moran's resignation was demanded by Gonzalez himself.

As Foreign Minister, Fernando Moran had done more than any of his predecessors in the post-Franco period to boost Spain's international prestige and enhance its international ties. He can take credit for normalizing Spanish-French relations, for consolidating relations with Latin American countries, for giving assistance to the Contadora Group which is seeking a peace settlement in Central America, and for actions against the South African policy of racism and apartheid. Also to his credit is the invigoration of Spanish-Soviet ties (he paid official visits to our country in 1983 and 1984).

#### A Forgotten Commitment

Does his departure from the government signify a change of course? Felipe

Gonzalez argues that no change in foreign policy is anticipated. In the opinion of France Presse Agency, the purpose of the reorganization of the Cabinet was to assert Spain's Atlantic orientation.

It is no secret that the leadership of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (SWP), above all its Secretary-General, have changed their attitude to the problem of Spain's membership of NATO. In 1982 the SWP promised the electorate that if it won the parliamentary election it would take the country out of the North Atlantic alliance, into which it had been drawn by the Centrist government. When they came to power the Socialists forgot this promise and did everything for Madrid to remain in the aggressive pact and play a more active role in it.

The pro-Atlantic policy ran up against resistance from the public, which launched a big campaign for the country's withdrawal from NATO (according to a public opinion poll, 54 per cent of all Spaniards are against NATO). And Moran did not share his Prime Minister's approach to this question. He held that participation in the bloc inflicted serious damage on national interests.

Still the leader of the SWP persisted in his views. At a recent press conference, he contended that as a West European country Spain could not be isolated from West European defence. True, he accepted the demand of a number of opposition parties and public organizations (and there are more than 20 of them) that a referendum on the question of membership in NATO be held, and it is scheduled for next March. But when consenting to the referendum, the government and the SWP leader-

ship officially announced their intention to mount an active campaign this autumn to persuade party members and the public to accept Spain's participation in the bloc. The government also stated that it would not consider itself bound by the results of the referendum if less than 50 per cent of the electorate took part in it. It cannot be ruled out that the problem of NATO will be linked with foreign policy as a whole and the government will ask the voters to approve it.

When explaining the reasons for the Cabinet reshuffle Felipe Gonzalez said it had been necessary to make government more dynamic, with Spain joining the Common Market.

It will be recalled that the difficult talks on admission into the EEC, held over a number of years, ended in the signing of an agreement on June 12. As from January 1, 1986, Spain will be a member of the Common Market, on the condition that this agreement is ratified by the Spanish parliament and the parliaments of the Ten. "This is an exceptional opportunity to make a qualitative leap forward in the political construction of Europe," Gonzalez stated. In his opinion, membership of the EEC will put an end to Spain's 150-year isolation.

By no means everyone shares this optimism. A mass demonstration of farmers protesting against joining the EEC was held in Madrid only hours after the signing ceremony. Spain's farmers are worried that the influx of agricultural commodities from the Common Market will ruin many of them. EEC membership will also hurt Spanish fishermen and wine makers: under the terms of the preliminary agreement, concluded in Brussels on March 29, Spain will reduce its catches of fish and its production of wine, in exchange for greater access to the European fruit and vegetable markets.

Industry, too, is likely to suffer. Spanish enterprises with outdated equipment will have to modernize quickly and start mass dismissals. Jose Luis Fernandez, head of the electrical appliance industry trade association, has stated: "We're opening our doors to all of Europe. EEC membership is a good idea, but not at a time when economic growth is so sluggish and Spain's unemployment rate stands at 22 per cent—the highest in Europe."

During the election campaign about three years ago the Socialists offered

the electorate a very promising social and economic programme. And this greatly helped them to win. The main items of this programme envisaged an improvement in the economy, in particular the solution of one of the most acute problems—unemployment. Felipe Gonzalez solemnly promised not only to keep unemployment in check but also annually to create 200,000 new jobs so as to reduce the army of the jobless by 800,000 in the course of four years.

The Cabinet has achieved some success. Inflation dropped from 14.4 per cent in 1982 to 9.3 per cent late last year. But for this success the working people have had to pay a very high price. First of all, the Socialists' main pledge—to provide work for 800,000 people—has remained unfulfilled. More, the army of "redundant people" has grown from 2.2 million to almost 3 million. The number of industrial enterprises is continuing to shrink, particularly in iron and steel and shipbuilding. Farmers are going bankrupt. The living standards of the working people are declining. The government intends to cut pensions by 8 to 10 per cent.

All this gives rise to bitter dissatisfaction on the part of the broad masses. A national strike was called in June by the biggest trade union association—the Workers' Commissions. Some 1,500 enterprises came to a standstill in the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia. The national railways, air lines and the subway all worked at the minimum. Farmers held protest marches in Andalusia and Extremadura.

As Miguel Boyer admitted, the government saw no possibility of quickly solving the main social problem, unemployment. But the point is that the country's economic difficulties are largely a result of the government's policy which, in the opinion of Felipe Gonzalez, is to ensure the Spanish economy's adjustment to EEC requirements.

This, broadly speaking, is the political situation in the country. A complex and contradictory one. Parliamentary elections are to be held in Spain in October 1986. The SWP's chances of remaining in power for a second term depend in many respects on its ability to solve the problems facing the country. Above all, the economic problems and the problem of Spain's relations with NATO.

LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

ECONOMIC CRISIS SEEN HARMING PERU'S MIDDLE CLASS, U.S. BLAMED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 29, 17 Jul 85 p 14

[Article by Vladimir Vesenskiy, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent, Lima-Buenos Aires: "Destruction: The Story of How American Banks Have Destroyed Peru"]

[Text] Attack on the "Middle Class".

I inhale the humid and thick air; through the window that has been flung open, I see a tree branch with violet flowers instead of leaves against the background of a grey sky seemingly covered by smoke; I hear the drawn-out and sad cry of a bird, like a widow's moan .... I am in Lima. There is nowhere with such humid and thick air which, it seems, one can drink; nowhere is there such a hopelessly grey sky; and nowhere do the birds cry so sadly. According to a legend, the Indians showed the Spanish the rottenest place on the seacoast for the construction of the capital.

However, I love Lima. They say that everyone loves it who lives here long enough to understand the charm of its old central streets, the beauty of its colonnades of royal palm trees, and the recklessness of the dizzying, almost sheer, precipices of the bank seemingly throwing the city into the ocean. I worked here at the beginning of the Seventies -- during the years of social reforms. The military was the first to make these reforms. The very fact that the basis of the oligarchy's power turned into a reforming force, forced many to think and alarmed and frightened the Americans.

Now, looking back, it is possible to say that the military did not manage very much. They did not know how to interact with the masses, and their ideological platform-- "neither capitalism nor communism" -- did not attract the workers. However, they discerned something else: the system of Peru's relations with American imperialism, which was based on an alliance between the local oligarchy and multinational corporations (MNC), had condemned the people of Peru to disappear as a nation. They began to break these relationships.

Reforms were begun. Strictly speaking, they have not gone any further than bourgeois democratic reforms, but -- for a country like Peru -- these reforms can be regarded as a step forward. I think that the change in the attitude of the military in Peru accelerated the beginning of the attack which

the United States has made on the countries of Latin America under the slogans and methods developed in the brain trusts of the international banks. The banks and MNC's were not able to rely any more on their traditional allies and their repression apparatus -- the army and police. New levers of control and ropes, which would be able to link these countries to the United States reliably, were needed. In order to carry out what had been planned, however, it was necessary to secure the "middle class" for themselves.

Not a single significant event in Latin America can occur without the preliminary processing of the "middle class" and without its participation-- active or passive.

The Pinochet revolution in Chile? It is now known that the right-wing forces with the help of the CIA and other American special services bent -- using money from the American monopoly -- the Chilean "middle class" to the opinion that it was not on the side of the workers and the poor and actually received the silent consent of this "class" to the revolution. They suppressed the workers with tanks, airplanes, artillery, ...

Before the 1976 revolution in Argentina, the "middle class" was subjected to clever treatment. They demonstrated to it that the interest of U. S. banks and monopolies coincided with its interests. I recognized several recipients of this treatment in the statements of Lech Walesa when he said that give him power and he would make a second Japan out of Poland-- just as in Argentina! There, they also promised a Japan and then destroyed all industry and finance, killed a whole generation of the intelligentsia and thousands of workers and trade union leaders, and ... in seven years, pumped 100 billion dollars into the safes of American and other banks and multinational corporations from the pockets of the workers and that same "middle class"! And Argentina remained owing 45 billion dollars!

Here, one cannot manage without the well known truth about which little is said: Even if American credits and capital investments helped Japan, it nevertheless rose from the ruins primarily by defending its national interests against the American banks and MNC's. In Latin American where the American prescriptions were carried out like articles in a military regulation, there is not a single country -- even the smallest -- in which there is no starvation, poverty, cultural decay, and a very serious economic crisis.

How The "Rauls" Helped To Deceive The "Estuados"...

Raul and Estuardo are my acquaintances. One of them was my neighbor in Lima. In 1975, Raul was 40 and Estuardo -- 28. I am telling you about them since they are typical, and the attack on the "middle class" in Peru was conducted, it seems to me, according to the scheme: Enkindle hatred in the "Rauls" and deceive the "Estuados."

Prior to 1968, Raul worked, if it is possible to call it work, as a negotiator for an American firm producing and selling plastic items: basins, pitchers,

dishes ... all of this was produced in the United States, and Raul travelled twice a month to Lima's port, Callao. He signed for the receipt of the cargo and immediately transferred it to the wholesale merchants. The firm paid him six percent from the turnover for this. Raul lived in grand style.

It is easy to imagine to oneself what was created in the soul of the rich ne'er-do-well when the importation of plastic items was forbidden and banking operations were placed under the control of the state. Perhaps he would have changed in time, but the Americans enkindled his hatred for the changes and promised a return to old times.

Things were going well for Estuardo, an engineer agronomist. The reforms, which were begun in the country, provided for help to those who wanted to engage in creative activity. Estuardo easily received credit from the bank and supplied several automatic shops for the production of chickens. By 1975, he already had six million sols to his credit. Converted to dollars (at the time there were 43.38 sols to the dollar), they were worth almost 140,000 dollars. Estuardo planned to buy equipment and work with agricultural equipment.

The "Rauls" convinced the "Estuardos" that if they were to accept the "new developmental doctrine" -- they were talking about the Friedman Chicago school model (cf. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 16, 1984)-- credits would be larger and the currency and affairs of the "Estuardos" would be even better.... It is necessary to mention that the struggle for the "Estuardos" was a long one and not always bloodless. In Lima, bombs exploded near the houses of progressive ministers, attempts were made on journalists and disagreeing right-wingers.... They drove the "Estuardos" to the instability and short life of the regime.

They finally had to pay for their credulity. They were destroyed with one stroke of the pen when the government -- following the instructions of the International Monetary Fund -- changed the exchange rate of the sol for dollars. At first, the dollar rose 1.5-fold, then twofold, then threefold, then fourfold -- and so it went....

In 1984, 2,500 sols bought one dollar! What remained in the account of the "Estuardos?" At the end of the Seventies, an economic war by the international banks and MNC's against Peru began. It ended with a "financial occupation" which was very similar to a military occupation.

The Financial Occupation: It Takes Place Thus...

I am sitting at a sidewalk cafe table on Miguel (Daso) Square. I used to live nearby, within two blocks, and often came here early in the morning to have breakfast. During the 10 years that had passed since then, little had changed here -- except that two tall buildings with windows made of mirror glass had gone up.

The signs on the stores, however, were something else: "Hobbies", "Family", "American Fried Chicken"... Goodness gracious, was I in New York? Even the



former "Himenez" has been renamed the "New Himenez". What has happened to the people of Peru? I ask a popular theater and television actress, (Liz Uraty), about this.

She says: "The time of the 'pro-foreigners' has arrived. They are the people of Peru who live as if there were no Peru and Peruvian problems. For example, they are not interested in what our theater is doing. They do not want to listen to what is being done in the families in Lima or somewhere in Ayacucho. Spiritually, they live in the United States or in England and, when they leave their homes, they want to go to a restaurant that has a foreign name without fail. There is no place nor work here for us, Peruvian actors...."

That means that the signs are not an accident. They are the victory of the "Rauls" who happily call their country the "back yard" of the United States. I pick up a newspaper. About what are they writing?" During the year production fell by 17 percent in Peru." Still the Seventies? What has remained?

I walk along (Abankayu). Without preliminary permission, the street has become a market. On polyethylene bedding directly on the sidewalk there are trousers, shirts, socks, overshoes, woolen cloaks -- ponchos, bags.... I interpret all of this abundance primarily as semi-unemployment. The greater the number of hawkers selling newspapers in the country, the fewer the work positions in factories, workshops....

I talk about this with Senator Carlos (Malpik), from the United Left opposition.

He says: "What you see on the streets of Lima is only a sign of the catastrophe. Stern reality is behind these signs. The use of the Chicago school model led to a crisis in the textile industry and metal engineering enterprises. The production of chemical fertilizer stopped. Automobile building is in crisis, and the fishing industry and agrarian cooperatives for producing sugar from sugar-cane are on the verge of bankruptcy. The International Monetary Fund is requiring payments on debts or more accurately, the interest on the debts. We are not able to pay them and have been compelled to ask for new credits which cover the interests on the debts. The International Monetary Fund offers these credits only under conditions which -- in practice -- mean a further decrease in national production. In Peru, 50 percent of the population is unemployed or semi-employed. The people, naturally, are trying to survive. Small factories are operating underground and are avoiding taxes. That is why there is such a profusion of goods in the impromptu markets.

From the opposition party senator, I walk along the Palace of Congresses corridors to Senator (Gaston Akurio) of the ruling People's Action Party. I ask him the main question:

"To what results did the introduction of the 'Chicago School' economic model into Peru lead?"

The senator's reply is attractive. He thinks that the "Chicago School" model was not used in Peru (the fact of the matter is that it does not now

seem becoming in Latin America to praise Milton Friedman or to express sympathy for his views. Even Pinochet considered it necessary to replace the minister of the economy since he was considered a supporter of this model).

I asked: "What will you say about Peru's 13 billion dollar foreign debt?"

In the senator's opinion, the governments who took credits without analysis, and the banks themselves, who offered these credits without an appropriate study of the enterprises in which their money would be invested, are guilty of the fact that Peru and other countries formed an enormous debt to the international banks.

The most interesting thing in this discussion is the fact the position of the senator from the ruling party exactly coincides with the position of American propaganda: The responsibility for the debt is two-sided! The governments and the banks are equally guilty!

Today, American propaganda is trying to depict the economic ruin in the Latin American countries and their enormous debts as the result of certain mistakes and errors made by the international banks and governments of these countries. However, let us listen to the well-known Peruvian economist, Carlos (Esteves). Here is his opinion:

"There cannot be any talk of mistakes. In Peru, as -- perhaps -- in no other country, there existed a system that limited the activity of foreign banks. For example, they were not permitted to open up branches in the provinces and to accept the national currency in their accounts; state enterprises did not have the right to maintain their assets in foreign banks; etc. To put it briefly, the banking system, which existed in Peru, was capable of defending national interests.

"This system was completely destroyed, and one of the national banks -- the BIK bank that specialized in offering credits to national industrialists -- was ruined.... Who can say that the destruction and debts are the result of mistakes? There were no mistakes, it was a well thought out policy! And people -- essentially the henchmen of the International Monetary Fund and the international banks -- carried it out."

I said: "They often say that the international banks themselves should have been concerned about the fact that their debtors were not brought to ruin. Otherwise, who would be able to pay these enormous debts?"

Carlos (Esteves) replied: "That is true, but the problem consists of the fact that the international banks and the MNC's are waging an economic war against our countries and the war has its own logic ...."

#### A Snare For The "Hunter"

First, a few words about the Sendero Luminoso. Not a single report on Peru today manages to avoid mentioning this terrorist organization. What are they

writing and saying about it? Briefly this is what: The Sendero is an organization of terrorists which is trying with the help of terrorist actions to transform the peasantry into a motivating force for a revolution. Until recently, the Sendero operated in the mountain regions of Ayacucho, but it has recently moved its operations to the capital also. I had occasion to see a restaurant that had been blown up by them -- a bonbonniere at the end of a long pier leading to the ocean. The Senderistas destroyed the fashionable restaurant at night. They deprived, so to speak, the bourgeoisie of one of their amusement places. Subsequently, it happened that I had occasion to be travelling in Lima and the Sendero blew up several bank branches that day. I went especially to look at the results of their actions: shattered glass, half burned and charred furniture.... The actions were rather directed toward attracting attention to themselves.... However, this was in the capital. In Ayacucho, they are already waging a "genuine war": They are killing the alcaldes of the small settlements and attacking isolated police posts....

It is necessary to mention that the apparatus for suppressing them is not operating. Approximately 5,000 people have perished in clashes during recent years!

Nevertheless the Sendero exist. Why? I posed this question in Peru to many of my colleagues and received the following answer if I may express it briefly: The Sendero operate and receive support in regions of the country that have been reduced to extremes: No prospects for development, no prospects for survival.... Here is a clue: The Sendero without any positive political platform and without any clear goals are receiving spontaneous support from people who have been reduced to extremes. The Ayacucho terrorists do not remind one of a peasant, who has taken into his hands a rifle which transforms him into a philosopher searching for truth on the tip of a bayonet nor do they remind one of Maoism, but they do remind one of the spontaneous hungry rioting by the inhabitants of the area around San Paulo in Brazil who had come to collect food in the supermarkets....

The spontaneous riots and bloody skirmishes are forcing the Latin American politicians to talk more and more frequently about the approaching social chaos.... Here is why.

Like the genie from a bottle, the gigantic foreign debt is out of the control of those who so carefully calculated and created it. The international banks and MNC's have not been able to use it as a convenient instrument or lever for political and economic pressure. They have drawn the knot too tightly. The economic crisis threatens to sweep away the U. S. allies themselves on the continent -- the local oligarchies. It is no accident that one after another the governments of the Latin American countries are requesting the International Monetary Fund to decrease its pressure.

The International Monetary Fund, however, does not want and is not able to yield. The American banks have their own concerns. The sums, which must be received from the debtor countries as payments on the interest that accumulate

are allegedly a guarantee of the credit worthiness of the banks who have issued enormous credits to the U. S. government itself for its wild military expenditures. It has turned into a snare for the "hunter" who had set it out. Specialists in Latin America say that if three or four countries openly refuse to pay their debts, the financial system of the West will be on the verge of bankruptcy. The same result can be obtained if one of these large countries, such as Brazil, Mexico or Argentina, declares a moratorium on debt payments  
.....

What is the situation today? Bolivia has already refused to pay. They are trying to suppress this fact and to talk less about it in the press. Peru has declared that it cannot pay the interest on the debts under the conditions put forward by the International Monetary Fund.... Who is next?

Many Western economists think that the condition of the banks is worse than in the Thirties -- during the crisis. However, the banks are still holding on. In Latin America, they are waiting for who will finally "kick over the chess board." Everyone is tired of the constant dependence, dictation and humiliation....

8802

CSO: 1807/424

1 October 1985

## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

## U.S. IGNORES CONTADORA'S 'VOICE OF REASON'

LD261513 Moscow TASS in English 1446 GMT 26 Aug 85

[Report by TASS political news analyst Anatoliy Medvedenko: "Justified Concern"]

[Text] Moscow August 26 TASS--TASS political news analyst Anatoliy Medvedenko writes:

A regular session of the Contadora Group has come to a close in Cartagena, Colombia. The news agencies which covered its work pointed out an important detail: Along with foreign ministers of member states of the Contadora Group which includes Mexico, Colombia, Panama and Venezuela, the session was attended for the first time by representatives, also on the level of ministers, of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay. Late in July, this year, the leaders of these countries agreed in Lima to set up the "Latin American Support Group for Contadora" with a view to promote the political settlement in Central America.

The decision taken by the leading countries of the continent has shown most vividly that the Latin American public has been ever more concerned of late over the policy aimed at an armed invasion of Nicaragua which is pursued by Washington and those regimes in the Central American region which are obedient to it.

The concern was also voiced in Cartagena. The political solution to the problems of Central America for which the Contadora Group consistently comes out is the only acceptable way to achieve peace and to prevent a large-scale conflict in the region, Belisario Betancur, president of Colombia, said when addressing the session. Foreign ministers present at the session also stressed the need to put an end to the undeclared war waged by the United States against the homeland of Sandino.

However, Washington's plans are different. The latest developments connected with Nicaragua show that the United States is not going to heed the voice of reason. On the contrary, the Reagan administration is going on with the escalation of the subversive activities against independent Nicaragua and is trying in every way to complicate the situation in the region and to bring it to the level when it will become explosive. Washington refuses to analyze

the "Peace Act" supported by Nicaragua which was developed by the Contadora group. It continues to sabotage direct talks between the United States and Managua which were broken off through the fault of the U.S. administration. The military aid to the CIA-funded "Contras" has also been considerably increased of late. Armaments, ammunition and military equipment with which they are supplied are paid for from those 27 million dollars that have been channelled by the Congress to the mercenaries for the so-called "humanitarian purposes."

The Reagan administration which blocks all the peaceful ways of the settlement of the conflict in Central America uses as a pretext the alleged "obstinacy" of Nicaragua. However, the NEW YORK TIMES wrote recently that the differences between the U.S. and Nicaragua could not be settled while Sandinistas were in power.

Whether the U.S. newspaper wished to do it or not, it summed up most clearly the essence of Washington's policy not only in Central America, but also in any other part of the globe. Its essence is that the U.S. cannot even imagine that sovereign governments which would pursue an independent policy and would not yield to diktat can come into office in Latin American countries.

CSO: 1812/345

1 October 1985

## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

## CHILEAN YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS ISSUE 'SAN JOAQUIN MANIFESTO'

PY242105 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2000 GMT 23 Aug 85

[Text] The youth organizations of 12 political parties have publicly demanded the resignation of Pinochet so that the Chilean people can decide their own destiny. In a document entitled the San Joaquin Manifesto, political youths of the right, center, and left state: We demand the return to the sovereign people the right to decide their own destiny. To achieve this, General Pinochet must resign immediately.

We promise to develop and support the broadest youth mobilization to achieve this objective, the San Joaquin Manifesto states. It is signed by the youths of the following parties: the Radical, the Christian Left, the Socialist, the MAPU [Unitary Popular Action Movement], two factions of the Socialist Youth Federation, the Christian Democratic, the Communist, the Liberal, the Social Democratic, the Republican, and the Humanist.

The youth organizations accuse the dictatorship and its supporters of breaking the values that gave birth to our nationality and of forcing the armed forces to betray the principles that inspired their creation. They add that the military government is the cause of the deterioration of the living conditions of the Chilean people and of their democratic institutions.

The manifesto adds that through the exploitation and control of public life, an authoritarian regime has been established, using repression and the systematic violation of human rights as its main instruments.

The 12 youth organizations also protest the exile of Chileans, arbitrary arrests, the missing people, banishment, the violent deaths, and the fear the people live in daily, with their appropriate consequences.

They criticize the government economic plan, the state terrorism to which the Chilean citizenry has been submitted, the international isolation of the regime, and the serious dependency into which the country has been dragged by the largest debt in our history.

Media sources have reported that the San Joaquin Manifesto is the broadest document written in Chile in the 12 years of the dictatorship.

CSO: 3348/957

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

JAPAN'S DEFEAT, POSTWAR MILITARISM

AU272001 Moscow MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 8, Aug 85, signed to press 19 July 85, pp 3-13

[Article by V. Petrov, marshal of the Soviet Union, first deputy USSR minister of defense, and Hero of the Soviet Union: "Military-Political Lessons of the Defeat of Japanese Militarism"]

[Text] More than 40 years ago, in the spring of 1945, long-awaited peace was established on the European continent after the unconditional capitulation of fascist Germany. At the same time in the Far East and in the Pacific Ocean basin World War II was still continuing and bloody battles were in progress. The peoples of China, Korea, Indochina, Burma, the Philippines, and Indonesia languished under the oppression of the Japanese invaders. And despite the fact that after the defeat of the fascist bloc in Europe Japan found itself in total political isolation and its strategic and economic positions were sharply weakened, Japanese militarists adopted a course to prolong the war.

The Japanese military-political leadership turned down the demands of the Potsdam Declaration for unconditional capitulation and adopted the decision to wage the war until its "victorious conclusion." In its calculations the leadership proceeded, in particular, from the fact that for the more than 3-year period of war in the Pacific Ocean American and British troops had not been able to achieve a decisive victory, and that the vast territory stretching from the Kuril Islands in the north to the Solomon Islands in the south was under Japanese control. Japanese imperialists hoped that their army, which had almost completely retained its strength and combat efficiency, would be able to offer serious resistance to American and British troops over a long period of time and that this would make it possible to avoid an unconditional capitulation and force the United States and Britain to make concessions.

In order to increase their potentials for waging a protracted war, Japanese militarists quickly implemented regular and total mobilization of material and human resources. This allowed them to form a considerable number of formations, create new field armies and fronts, and bring the total number of their armed forces to more than 7 million, including 5.5 million in ground forces. The number of combat planes reached 6,500, of which a considerable number were adapted for kamikaze pilots. The Japanese Navy also represented a great force, incorporating as it did 6 aircraft carriers, 15 battleships and cruisers, 44 destroyers, and 57 submarines.



With the largest ground army ever in its entire history and contemporary naval forces backed up by a developed network of naval bases, ports, and fortifications in the straits, Japan remained a strong and dangerous enemy. At the same time, despite their large number, the Japanese Armed Forces dispersed over the vast areas of East Asia in separate isolated groups could not as a whole ensure the fulfillment of the tasks set. Under these conditions the strategic plans and schemes of the Japanese military-political leadership, which had adopted a course to wage a protracted war on two fronts, bore the mark of adventurism.

The Japanese Government also miscalculated in the fact that it hoped to utilize possible differences between the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition and to strike a compromise deal with U.S. and British reactionary circles interested in preserving a force hostile to the Soviet Union in the Far East in the shape of imperialist Japan. In order to avoid total and unconditional capitulation, Japanese ruling circles persistently sought ways of reaching a separate agreement and engaged in diplomatic maneuvering with the aim of preventing the USSR from entering the war against Japan. They held talks with the United States in strict secret and tried to draw our country into them. However, these insidious plans of the Japanese aggressor were not fated to be realized. As a result of the liquidation of the main seat of World War II in Europe, the allied countries were given the opportunity to concentrate their main forces against militarist Japan. At the same time the governments of the United States and Britain understood that, without the Soviet Union, it was impossible to crush the Japanese Armed Forces in a short space of time and liquidate the Far East seat of war.

Realistically appraising their potentials in the Far East, the allies recognized that if the USSR did not come out against Japan, in order to conduct decisive operations they would have to concentrate an army of 7 million in Asia which, they calculated, would take 1 and 1/2 years after the end of the war in Europe. Foreseeing the course of World War II in its concluding stage, the heads of the three great powers--the USSR, the United States, and Britain--agreed at the Yalta Conference that 2-3 months after capitulation by fascist Germany, the Soviet Union would enter the war against militarist Japan.

Soon after the Yalta Conference and on the basis of the concluded agreement and mutual obligations adopted by the allied powers, the Soviet Supreme Command began to force the pace of preparation for war against Japan by beginning to work out the plan of the Manchuria strategic offensive operation. In this respect it was taken into account that the USSR's war against militarist Japan would be a just and humane act, because it would be an inalienable part of the general struggle of the peoples of East Asia and Oceania against the Japanese invaders and for freedom and independency, and would simultaneously make it possible for the Japanese people themselves to avoid the mass sacrifices and destruction which could ensue if the war were to be transferred directly to the Japanese islands. When adopting the decision on war the Soviet Government also took into account the anti-Soviet, aggressive nature of the policies of Japanese reactionary forces, which nurtured plans to seize the Soviet Far East and include in their "great East Asian sphere" the whole of Siberia and those territories of the USSR not "assimilated" by Hitler's Germany.

The combat task set for the Soviet troops and naval forces located in the Far East was not an easy one. The Japanese supreme command, preparing for decisive battles, devoted particular attention to the Kwantung Army--the strike force of the imperial armed forces destined for waging armed struggle against the Soviet Army on the territory of Manchuria and Korea--their main bridgehead on the Asian mainland. The Kwantung Army incorporated 3 fronts, a separate field army, and 2 air armies, including 42 infantry and 7 cavalry divisions, 23 infantry, 2 tank, and 2 cavalry brigades, 6 separate regiments, 17 fortified regions, and a river flotilla. They were armed with 1,215 tanks, 6,640 artillery weapons, 1,907 combat planes, and 26 ships. The total number of this group of troops exceeded 1 million. The main mass of the Kwantung Army personnel was trained, had combat experience, and had been ideologically processed in a spirit of anti-Sovietism, chauvinism, and fanatical devotion to the emperor.

With such forces in Manchuria, the Japanese command planned--by relying on the fortified regions and the chain of mountain ranges of Greater and Lesser Kingan and East Manchuria, which were difficult of access--to offer stubborn resistance to the offensive by Soviet-Mongolian troops, to inflict serious losses on them, and then, having moved up reserves from northern China and Korea, to launch a counter offensive in the flat regions of central Manchuria with the aim of crushing the Soviet-Mongolian troops.

But this plan was unrealistic because it was based on an overestimation of their own forces and the role of the locality and an underestimation of the state and combat potentials of the USSR Armed Forces. Despite their considerable number, in terms of fire power, strike force, mobility, and the skill and combat experience of the personnel, the Japanese troops were far inferior to the Soviet Army, which was the best army in the world.

Having carried out a major regrouping of troops from the West to the Far East, and also in Zabaykalye, and completed immediate preparations for an offensive, the Soviet Government, fulfilling its allied obligations and also with the aim of safeguarding the security of its Far Eastern borders and liquidating the hotbed of aggression in Asia, announced on 8 August 1945 that from 9 August that year the USSR would consider itself to be at war with Japan. Almost all the forces of the People's Revolutionary Army of the Mongolian People's Republic, which also declared war on Japan, were sent to the front.

The determination of our socialist state to make its own decisive contribution to the defeat of the Japanese aggressors was in the interests of all peoples who for many years had been subjected to the brigand-like attacks of militarist Japan. The far-sighted policy of the communist party, which was actively and purposefully implemented by the Soviet Government, was the only means capable of hastening the end of World War II and the beginning of peace, of safeguarding the security of the USSR's Far Eastern borders, restoring the historical rights of the Soviet Union to south Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands earlier seized by Japan, and rendering international assistance to the peoples of Asia in their liberating struggle.

In accordance with the statement by the Soviet Government on the USSR entering the war, [words indistinct] 9 August Soviet-Mongolian troops began military operations. Supreme Command Headquarters set Far Eastern troops large-scale

tasks: with the forces of the Transbaykal and first and second Far Eastern fronts to carry out a swift invasion of Manchuria from three sides--from the west, the east, and the north--and, by means of powerful encounter splintering [rassekayushchiye] strikes in converging directions, to crush the enemy's covering forces in the border zone, cross the area of mountains and taiga, surround and destroy the main forces of the Kwantung Army on the Manchurian plain, and free Manchuria, North Korea, South Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands from the Japanese invaders.

The Manchurian strategic offensive operation by Soviet-Mongolian troops in the Far East began with powerful, simultaneous strikes on land, from the air, and from the sea along every operational axis along a front of a total length of 5,000 kilometers. The Japanese units for immediate border cover were taken un-awares and were unable to offer firm resistance. Seizing the initiative, the troops of the aforementioned fronts began to successfully penetrate the heart of Manchurian territory. On the very first day the main headquarters of the Japanese Armed Forces lost control over the course of the war on the Soviet-Japanese front.

The enemy was in a critical situation. On 10 August the Japanese Government agreed to accept the conditions of the Potsdam Declaration, and on 14 August it decided to capitulate.

Despite this, the Kwantung Army continued to resist the offensive by Soviet troops. Although stunned by these swift operations by our troops and by concentrated air attacks, the command of the Kwantung Army began to quickly pull back its units and formations with the intention of offering [word indistinct], but during the first offensive alone, our troops caused the Kwantung Army serious damage. They defeated its first echelon of operations, overcame the most difficult natural obstacles, seized 16 fortified regions, and fulfilled the tasks set at the first stage of the operation. The Japanese command was no longer able to organize serious resistance in any sector.

At the second stage of the operation, from 15 to 20 August, as a result of swift progress troops from the three fronts reached important industrial centers--Mukden, Changchun, and Harbin. The breakthrough by the left flank of troops from the first Far Eastern front to the Korean border created favorable conditions for organizing joint operations with the Pacific Ocean fleet, in the course of which the ways open for evacuating the Kwantung Army to Japan by sea were definitively cut off. [Words indistinct] coast of North Korea speeded up progress overland by our troops who, with the participation of Korean partisans, rapidly moved to the south, disarming Japanese garrisons, gendarmerie, and police. This created favorable conditions for the popular masses' free expression of will and the formation of a democratic government in the north of the Korean peninsula.

Perceiving the hopelessness of armed struggle, on 17 August the commander-in-chief of the Kwantung Army turned to the Soviet command with a request to begin negotiations on the cessation of military operations, and on 18 August, at the insistence of the Soviet side, its command signed an act of capitulation. Having completed active combat operations on the territory of Manchuria, after

20 August troops from the three fronts continued to break through to designated regions. By the end of August the entire territory of Manchuria, with an area of more than 40 million, was completely free of the Japanese invaders.

The major successes achieved by Soviet troops on the mainland made it possible for the command of the second Far Eastern front and of the Pacific Ocean fleet to begin fulfilling the plan for the South Sakhalin offensive operation and the Kuril assault landing operation as early as 11 August. On Sakhalin, having overcome a powerful fortified region and a zone of highland forests and forested swamps, in the course of 2 weeks--by 26 August--our troops successfully smashed the enemy units and broke through to the La Perouse Strait. A difficult task had to be solved by the troops and fleet on the Kuril Islands, where they were faced with the prospect of liberating an island chain 1,200 kilometers long. The quick, decisive operations by the Soviet fleet were unexpected for the Japanese. By 1 September their garrisons on the islands had been smashed and disarmed.

As a result of the battles and total capitulation by the Japanese Army on the mainland and on the islands, Soviet troops took captive almost 594,000 soldiers and officers and seized the following trophies: 686 tanks, 1,836 guns of various calibres, 13,099 machine-guns, 861 planes, and 774,000 shells and mines. And, in all, 32 divisions, 25 brigades, and many other units of various types of troops and special-purpose units were disarmed.

After the defeat of one of the largest strategic groups of Japan's ground forces and its loss of an important economic base on the mainland, Japanese militarists' hopes of a protracted war against the United States and Britain were also wrecked once and for all, and they were forced to capitulate. An act of capitulation was signed on 2 September 1945 on board the American battleship "Missouri" which had entered Tokyo Bay. This historic act was the inevitable finale to the Japanese aggressors' aspirations and ended the long series of their military adventures: For approximately 70 years Japan's military-bureaucratic elite had waged wars almost incessantly, thereby dooming its people and the peoples of neighboring countries to cruel ordeals, sacrifices, deprivations, and suffering.

As a result of its defeat Japan not only suffered a military catastrophe: A serious blow was dealt to the ideology and policies of Japanese militarism, the main social support of which was monopolistic capital. The authority of the monarchy as a state system of government was seriously weakened and the myth of the invincibility of the Japanese Army, persistently cultivated by the ruling classes over the course of many decades, was exposed. This defeat led to the collapse of the Japanese colonial empire and to the loss of foreign markets and sources of raw materials. All this facilitated the rapid development of the political activeness of the Japanese working people.

With the breakthrough by Soviet troops to the southern regions of Manchuria and Liotung Bay, the fate of the Japanese occupation armies in north and east China was predetermined. In this connection, Chiang Kai-shek, relying on the assistance of the American military command, began to quickly transfer his troops to north China so as to then bring them into Manchuria and develop an armed struggle

against the people's troops led by the Communist Party of China (CPC). But these plans of reactionary forces, who attempted to make use of the fruits of the victory over the Japanese invaders, were wrecked. With the support and international assistance of the Soviet Army, CPC troops, forestalling the actions of the Kuomintang, entered Manchuria, where, with the help of the USSR, a revolutionary base was then set up which served as an arsenal for the CPC cadre army and as a training ground for its personnel.

The assistance given by the Soviet Union in supplying combat equipment was of particular significance for the deployment of CPC armed forces in Manchuria. At the request of the CPC leadership the Soviet command gave it all the weapons, combat material, and other equipment of the former Kwantung Army, and also some Soviet weapons. This made it possible for the CPC leadership to rearm existing units and formations and equip newly formed ones. With the assistance of the USSR the main strike force of the Chinese revolution--the United Democratic Army, based on an alliance of the workers class and the working peasantry with the leading role played by CPC party organizations--was formed on a new technical base. Assistance in forming a revolutionary base in Manchuria, and economic, military, and diplomatic assistance by the Soviet Union in forming and consolidating a revolutionary system in the PRC are a graphic example of the genuine internationalism of the land of the Soviets and of its invaluable, disinterested support for the Chinese Revolution.

The land of the Soviets fulfilled its international duty by showing itself to be the most loyal defender of the democratic rights and freedoms of peoples who had been the victims of the Japanese militarists. The Soviet Union thereby made a decisive contribution to liquidating the Far Eastern seat of war, knocked from the hands of international imperialism its powerful weapon of aggression directed against the USSR and national liberation movements in Asia, and created favorable conditions for more widely developing the national liberation struggle of the peoples of China, Korea, Indochina, Burma, and Indonesia. In the conditions of the changed correlation of forces in the world, imperialist reaction was no longer able to stand in the way of the popular democratic movement in this region, a movement which had visibly begun to gather force. It is precisely in this that the most important military-political outcome of the Soviet Union's war against the Japanese aggressors lay.

With their decisive and quick actions, the Soviet Armed Forces reduced the length of the war, thereby saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of soldiers, as well as a large quantity of the combat equipment and material resources of the allied armies. The United States and Britain had planned to carry out offensive assault operations to land allied troops on the island of Kyushu (Operation Olympic) at the end of 1945, and on the island of Honshu (Operation Coronet) in 1946.

And however much bourgeois falsifiers try to belittle the role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of militarist Japan, they will not succeed in this--the facts of history are irrefutable. It is a well-known fact that neither the naval blockade and the concentrated attacks by the U.S. Air Force, nor its barbaric, cruel nuclear attacks on the peaceful population of two Japanese cities were able to force Japan to capitulate. It was precisely the quick,

decisive attacks by Soviet troops that forced it into capitulation. Appraising the events in the Far East, the American General K. Chenault said: "The Soviet Union's entry into the war against Japan was a decisive factor hastening the end of the war in the Pacific Ocean.... The quick blow dealt Japan by the Red Army completed the encirclement which led to Japan being brought to its knees." The defeat of the Japanese invaders and the victorious conclusion of the war were events of crucial, world wide historical significance which opened up new roads to social progress and peace before the liberated peoples of the East. Both the tragedy of the war and the happiness of the great victory will remain in people's memories for all time.

Many countries and peoples which fought against the aggressor made their own contribution to the common cause of liquidating the last seat of World War II in the AST. Soviet people remember and highly value the efforts of all participants in the defeat of the common enemy, and they honor their combat service in the struggle for freedom and independence. The Chinese people waged a long and intense struggle against the Japanese invaders for 8 years. The peoples of Indochina, Burma, Indonesia, and the Philippines dealt them tangible blows. The armed forces of the United States and Britain, and also of other countries, gradually squeezed the Japanese occupying forces which had seized extensive territories in the Pacific Ocean basin and on the mainland.

The results of the war in the Far East attest to the triumph of Soviet military art and methods of training and leading the troops. Conducting the strategic leadership of the armed forces in the Far East, the Soviet Supreme Command adopted a creative approach to determining methods of routing the adversary in the distant theater of military operations, taking into account the contours of the front line, the difficult geographical conditions, and the weak and vulnerable points in the Kwantung Army's operational defense. The main strikes were inflicted by the fronts and armies along those axes which provided an opportunity for a rapid advance to encircle the adversary's troops and in those sectors where the adversary did not at all expect broad offensive operations. The absence of a continuous front made it possible to lend a highly maneuverable character to the operations of troops along all axes. Careful camouflage and shifting to the offensive at night ensured the achievement of tactical successes, which were then rapidly transformed into operational ones, in unfavorable weather conditions.

The Soviet Union's brilliant victory was the law-governed consequence of the great vital force of the socialist social and state system, of the communist party's far-sighted policy, and its enormous organizational and purposeful ideological-educational work at the front and in the rear. By its intensive ideological and party-political work the party was able to form a high moral spirit among the troops as well as an irresistible offensive impulse, which was one of the decisive factors in our rapid victory. The conscientiousness of personnel, the feeling of responsibility for the fate of the motherland, and the combat cohesion and mutual assistance all became a guarantee of the high combat capability of units and formations. The heroism of our soldiers had no limits in the storming of fortifications, the negotiation of almost inaccessible mountains and marshes, the forced crossing of rivers, and the carrying out of assault landings. Their bravery, resolution, fortitude, and combat activeness was combined with high military skills and great combat experience.

The party and government highly valued the bravery, courage, and feat of arms of the Soviet troops. Over 2,100 people were awarded orders and medals, including 93 soldiers who were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. More than 300 formations, units, and ships were awarded orders of the Soviet Union, [word indistinct] of them received guards titles. Over 220 formations and units were awarded the honorary title of Khingan, Amur, Ussuri, Mukden, Harbin, Sakhalin, and Kuril Islands. In honor of the outstanding victories in the Far East, the medal "For Victory Over Japan" was established on 30 September 1945 by decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In the Soviet Union 3 September became the Day of Victory over Militarist Japan.

The Japanese aggressors unleashed the war in Asia to all intents and purposes with the indulgence of the imperialists of the United States, Britain, and France. Their persistent attempts to direct Japan's aggressive aspirations against the USSR turned out to be a foolish and short-sighted policy which taught peoples a hard lesson, caused them enormous hardship and suffering, and gave away China and other countries of Southeast Asia and the Pacific Ocean to be torn apart by the aggressors. For precisely this reason no one should forget the high price at which the world-historical victory of the right cause was achieved.

As the outcome of the war in the Far East confirmed, the aspiration of the aggressive forces of imperialism for domination over other peoples and countries is doomed to crushing failure. The adventurist aspirations of the Japanese militarists to seizing the Soviet Far East, Siberia, East Asia, and the island territories of Oceania were foiled by the Soviet people and its armed forces, by the peoples and armies of the allied countries, and by the resistance of the peoples subjected to Japanese aggression. The results and conclusions of the final period of the last war, as a result of which Japanese militarism was utterly routed, serve as a terrible warning to all those who are setting out today on the road of preparing for and unleashing a new war.

One of the most important lessons and results of the war consists in the fact that the Far-Eastern aggressor suffered not only a military and political but also an economic defeat. The war demonstrated the invalidity and adventurism of the military-economic calculations made by the Japanese political leadership. The potential of Japan's economy did not correspond to the strategic tasks which its ruling circles attempted to solve using military force. The prolonged nature of the war led to the exhaustion of the economy which in essence is wholly based on imported raw materials. Neither the resources which it stole from occupied countries nor total mobilization helped Japan. The military defeat of the aggressor on the Soviet-Japanese front and the putting out of action of the supporting material base in Manchuria accelerated the final collapse of the Japanese military economy.

The history of the Japanese military conquests convincingly confirms that Japan possesses neither the territory nor the resources for participation in a large war against a powerful adversary.

After the war, having consigned its lessons to oblivion, the U.S. Government immediately renounced the allied powers' agreed policy on Japan, set out on

a path of breaking its international obligations on the question of the postwar democratization of Japan's system, and persistently strove to save Japanese militarism from total liquidation. The territory of the country was not completely occupied. Having taken the most reactionary forces of Japan under their protection, the American occupation organs administered the country not directly but through the wartime Japanese state apparatus, which had been preserved. Having enlisted the support and financial-economic assistance of the United States, the monopolistic circles of Japan began to strengthen their positions.

The years of the occupation of Japan by the United States (1945-51) were the period in which conditions were formed for and a maturing process than occurred of the American-Japanese alliance, which was finally formed and strengthened during the U.S. military intervention in Korea, when the former enemy of the recent past actively assisted the American Armed Forces. From this time onward, Japan has begun to play the role of a kind of Far-Eastern support and a special partner and ally of the United States in Asia in the global strategy of American imperialism. Broad and close political, economic, and military ties are forming between the two countries. The ruling circles of Japan are showing an increasing readiness to follow the lead of the aggressive policy of the United States, to the detriment of the national interests of the Japanese people. The American-Japanese treaty of 1960 tied the Land of the Rising Sun with firm bonds to the adventurist policy of the United States, a policy which is directed against the USSR and other states neighboring on Japan.

On a basis which has been agreed with the U.S. Government, the ruling circles of Japan are consistently implementing the militarization of the country and are intensifying its military preparation, proceeding from the principle: "Japan is the shield and the United States is the sword." Judging by various foreign materials, this means that in the next 5 to 10 years Japan will concentrate its efforts on the creation of strong ground forces, a developed air defense system, and fairly powerful naval forces, which will be capable, under the cover of the American "nuclear umbrella," of fulfilling tasks both within the borders of the Far-Eastern region and outside its bounds.

In developing plans for their expansionist aspirations, the Japanese imperialists, with the support of the United States, are setting themselves the far-reaching political, economic, and military goals of establishing their leadership in Asia, of turning the southeastern part of the Asian continent into their immediate sphere of influence, and of pushing the country onto the path of aggression. Having forgotten the harsh lessons of the last war, the Government of Japan is paying particular attention to the "importance of the most rapid fulfillment" of plans to build up the combat might of the army, which, it claims, must raise its military potential to a "strategic level." In connection with this, the infliction of preventive strikes and the conduct of a strategic offensive, with air and sea superiority ensured within the bounds of Japan and the territories adjacent to it, is being selected as the main form of warfare for the Japanese Armed Forces. The ruling circles of Japan have assured their American partner that they will turn the Japanese islands into an "unsinkable aircraft-carrier" which, it must be understood will serve as a launching pad for the siting of first-strike weapons.



Under the pretext of ensuring mutual security, Japan continues to make its territory available for the deployment of American troops and stockpiles of nuclear weapons and for the basing of air and naval forces, the potential radius of action of which includes not only the Soviet Far East and Siberia, but also the territory of other states in Asia and the basin of the Pacific Ocean. Altogether there are more than 100 American bases on the Japanese islands, while in their ports are based the ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

A new aspect of the American military presence in Japan is the agreement by the Japanese Government to the possible opening of special air corridors for the flight of strategic bombers with nuclear weapons on board, to the use of the Japanese islands as a transit base in movement of the American "rapid deployment forces," and also to the establishment of powerful radar installations here, which are to become a component part of the American global electronic reconnaissance system aimed at the USSR. The American command has been given the right to conduct military operations from the territory of Japan in practically any region of the world. It is also impossible not to take account of the fact that Tokyo has expressed its agreement to operations in conjunction with the United States in sea communications as far as the shores of the Philippines, and to block the La Perouse, Tsugaru, and Korea international straits.

In order to ensure that the country is prepared for war, Japanese reactionary circles are acting against the policy of neutrality, considering it inapplicable to Japan. An intensification of negative tendencies is being noted in Japan's policy toward the Soviet Union. Taking no account of the lessons of the past, Tokyo is building its foreign policy relations with the Soviet Union on an increasingly intensive anti-Soviet basis. Over the entire post-war period the Japanese Government has avoided a peaceful settlement of relations with the USSR. The ruling circles of Japan have set out on a path of limiting Soviet-Japanese political contacts and have annulled a number of large trade contacts. The government of Japan is making the conclusion of a peace treaty with the Soviet Union directly dependent on the transfer to it of the Soviet islands of Kunashir, Iturup, Shikotan, and a series of smaller islands. These unjustified and illegal territorial claims by Japan against the Soviet Union have been raised to the level of state policy, a fact which reveals the essence of the aggressive intentions and revanchist attempts of the Japanese imperialists.

Ignoring the instructive lessons of the war, Japanese imperialism stubbornly intends to change the historic realities which have formed, and it is striving to achieve leadership in the Far-Eastern region and to widen its preparations for the seizure of territories. Precisely these aims are served by the policy of the ruling classes in Japan, which give the imperialists of the United States the possibility of using the human and material resources, the territory, and the air space of the Japanese islands, as well as the sea areas adjacent to them, in the interests of the U.S. global strategy. In this connection it cannot be ignored that the United States, Japan, and South Korea are persistently preparing an operational continental-island line of military presence which passes in a semicircle through the Japanese islands and the territory of South Korea. In the western part of the Pacific Ocean a second line in the

form of a "floating island ring," where aerodromes, ports, and bases are situated and aircraft-carrier formations are constantly present, is simultaneously being formed by the efforts of the American Armed Forces. These territories can be used as convenient bridgeheads for developing aggression against the USSR and the other socialist countries of East Asia. To precisely this end, large joint exercises, in the course of which questions of mutual cooperation in various versions of a possible invasion by the armies of the United States, Japan, and South Korea are mastered by practice, are being conducted here.

Blinded by class hatred of the Soviet state, and having forgotten the lessons of the past, the American imperialists are providing Japan with comprehensive assistance in the development of its military-economic potential, with the aim of establishing a large material base in the Far-Eastern region for aggression against the USSR. Under pressure from the United States, the economic potential for providing the army with combat equipment and weapons is consistently growing. Japan's military-industrial complex already possesses a scientific-technical basis and production capacities capable of starting the mass output of all forms of modern military equipment, weapons, and control systems.

Everything here is reminiscent of the past, when the United States, in preparing the Japanese economy for a war against the Soviet Union, itself became the victim of Japanese aggression in the basin of the Pacific Ocean. This is confirmed in particular by the circumstance that, having become an important world center of imperialist rivalry and the main competitor of the United States, Japan has developed a broad economic offensive not only in the countries of Asia, but also in Western Europe and America. At present, in Japan the same economic, social, and political processes are being intensified as those which once gave rise to the militarist spirit of the troops and also to violence. With the growth in its military-economic potential, and the intensification on this basis of its militarist ambitions, the country has turned into one of the three basic centers of world imperialism, along with the United States and Western Europe. With the help of the United States, the military policies of these three centers are moving closer together and Japan is gradually being transformed into an associate member of the aggressive NATO bloc.

It is necessary to also take account of the present situation whereby the United States, regarding Japan and South Korea as a "bridgehead," is persistently making efforts to draw these and also the countries which are members of ANZUS and ASEAN into a policy of confrontation with the USSR, once the United States has created in the Asian and Pacific Ocean region a new NATO-type military-bloc structure, the nucleus of which would be the American-Japanese-South Korean alliance. All of this runs directly contrary to the fundamental interests of the peoples of Asia, and primarily those of the Japanese people, who were the first to experience American atomic bombings, and who suffered great losses during the war.

The dangerous nature of the present course of events in the Far East demands that the peoples of East Asia and the Pacific Ocean show a very high degree of vigilance and that they take vigorous joint action against the military preparations of the United States, Japan, and South Korea. It is necessary to oppose the American-Japanese strategy of splitting the countries of Asia into opposing military-political groupings and of setting some countries against others with a policy of cooperation in the interests of collective security in the Far East.

In contemporary conditions the importance of such cooperation is growing in connection with the fact that the United States and Japan are using all the latest achievements of science and technology and all the means which industrial production can give them in order to prepare for a new war. To this end they are closely linking their military-economic plans and combining their scientific efforts for the most rapid development of ever newer models of weapons and equipment. The most reactionary circles of American imperialism still entertain illusions that they will be able to create such types of weapons as would guarantee military superiority for the United States, cover them against a retaliatory counterstrike, and ensure an "absolute and automatic factory" for them.

Knowing the rapacious nature of imperialism and also its adventurism, the CPSU and the Soviet Government are doing everything necessary in order that our armed forces constantly remain at the highest level of readiness to give a resolute rebuff to any aggressor. The land of the soviets possesses reliable and skillful defenders, a firm defensive shield, and a striking sword.

As Soviet soldiers move toward the glorious anniversary--40 years since the victory of the Soviet people over the Japanese imperialists--they are fulfilling their high historical mission in a fitting manner, reliably protecting the sacred borders of the motherland, and vigilantly standing watch over peace. There is no force in the world which could shake the belief of Soviet soldiers in communism. The guarantee of this is the growing economic and defense might of the Soviet state, the strengthening unity of army and people, and the CPSU's wise and far-sighted leadership in the entire cause of communist construction and of the defense of our socialist motherland.

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1 October 1985

CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

PRC PAPER LAUDS SOVIET AID IN WW II

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 13 Aug 85

[Text] The Soviet Union's participation in the war against the Japanese invaders, the rout of Japan's Kwantung army, the liberation of Northeast China and the northern part of Korea quickened Japan's surrender and brought closer the end of the Second World War, the newspaper JINGJI RIBAO writes, stressing the Soviet Union's tremendous contribution to the Japanese imperialism's complete rout.

The Soviet Government, the paper points out, gave China huge material assistance in the period of the anti-Japanese war, sent thousands of military advisers to China who instructed Chinese officers and took direct part in battles. Special mention is made of the Soviet volunteer pilots who died in battles for the city of Wuhan and in other parts of China. Over a hundred Soviet fliers gave their lives for the cause of the common struggle and their names will live always in the hearts of the Chinese people, the paper continues.

Many officers and soldiers of the Soviet Army died the deaths of heroes when liberating the northeast of our country, JINGJI RIBAO writes. The monuments to men of the Soviet Army built in Harbin and Dairen have become symbols of friendship sealed by the blood of the Chinese and Soviet peoples, the paper stated. (TASS. August 13. In full.)

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

USSR, U.S. MIDEAST POLICIES CONTRASTED

PM061148 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Sep 85 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Belyayev under the rubric "Events. Facts. Opinions": "Who Is Seeking What in the Near East"]

[Text] With regard to the situation in the Near East Western politicians and researchers ask themselves, as a rule, a provocative question: "What do the Soviets want in that part of the world?" And they hasten to answer it themselves. Here their chief theses are as follows: The USSR is "seeking to establish" its military-political control over this important strategic region, where the capitalist world's chief known oil reserves are concentrated. Moscow "needs" to do this, they say, in order, on the one hand, to "create" a military threat to NATO on its southern flank and, on the other, to "blackmail" in the West with dependence on Near East Oil, "seize" it by the throat, and "impose" its will on it.

The false and absurd nature of these allegations is obvious.

Following one after another, the Soviet Union's peace initiatives convincingly indicate that it unswervingly pursues the Leninist policy of peace and advocates the strengthening of the peoples' security and broad international cooperation. World peace is the highest aim of Soviet foreign policy. This also applies in full to the Near East region. As for the question which so troubles certain circles in the West, it can be put differently: What does the Soviet Union not want in the Near East? Against what is it struggling there?

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and USSR Council of Ministers appeal "To the Peoples, Parliaments, and Governments of All Countries" on the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II authoritatively states: "The Soviet people do not want foreign lands. We impose our world outlook and our way of life on no one."

Nor does the Soviet Union have any territorial claims on Near East states. But Israel--the "strategic" ally of American imperialism--does have. It is precisely Tel Aviv's expansionism that is the fundamental cause of the Near East conflict. However, the Near East is a region in direct proximity to the USSR's southern borders, and events happening there cannot but affect its interests.

The Soviet Union opposed and still opposes turning the Near East into a potential theater of military operations. But this is just what the United States and Israel are seeking to do. Washington strategists have included the region in the so-called "third central zone" along with West Europe and the Far East. The United States is persistently trying to turn it into an arena of military-political confrontation with the USSR and into a strategic bridgehead for an attack on the socialist countries.

There is a real danger that American medium-range missiles similar to those which have already appeared in West Europe and also neutron weapons will be deployed in Near East states in the future. Few people doubt that, if Pershing and cruise missiles appear there, they will be targeted, above all, on the USSR and its allies. And it is perfectly natural that such a development of events cannot fail to worry the Soviet Union.

The USSR does not use the proximity of the Near East to its southern borders to secure any one-sided advantages for itself there, including in the military sphere. This is how it is and how it has always been. The Soviet Government has consistently opposed and continues to oppose a foreign military presence in the region in any form whatever. The USSR has not had and does not have a single military base on the territory of Near and Middle East states. But the United States has military bases there. In the Indian Ocean region and the Persian Gulf zone, which are situated many thousands of kilometers from American territory, Washington has more than 25 military bases at which 140,000 servicemen are stationed. Some 48 percent of White House military spending outside its own country goes on strengthening its positions in the Near and Middle East!

The Soviet Union advocates the speediest liquidation of hotbeds of international tension--above all, the Near East conflict as the most dangerous of all that exist at present--exclusively by peaceful means. This end is pursued by the Soviet proposals of 29 July 1984 on a Near East settlement, which provide for the convening of an international conference on the Near East with the participation of all the interested sides, including the PLO. The USSR does not seek unilateral advantages for itself in the settlement process. At the same time it is opposed to the speculative use of this process by Washington and Tel Aviv, which are trying to impose on the Arabs their own model of a "settlement" like the Camp David deal, which would perpetuate their domination of the region.

The Soviet Government consistently opposes the use of force in interstate relations and advocates preventing the acquisition of foreign territories by force. Western propaganda tries to pass off the Soviet aid, including military aid, to certain Arab countries repulsing Israeli aggression as [evidence of] the "biased nature" of the USSR's policy in the Near East and its "anti-Israeli" thrust. In this connection A. A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, declared: "Yes, we support and will continue to support the Arabs' legitimate demands. But it is wrong to see just this aspect of the matter in our position. When we try to ensure that territories acquired by force do not become the aggressor's prize, this demand goes beyond the Near

East in terms of its substance. It reflects intolerance of aggression generally. Thus, this is a question of a major international principle, a question of the consistency of policy." Therefore the Soviet Government believes that, to achieve a comprehensive, just peace settlement of the Near East conflict, the Israeli troops must be withdrawn from all the Arab territories occupied by them, including East Jerusalem.

Separate mention should be made of the USSR's stand with regard to Israel. One sometimes encounters allegations by Western propagandists that the Soviet Union is seeking to "destroy" Israel as a state. Although everyone is well aware that in 1947 the Soviet representative at the United Nations voted for the creation of an Israeli state, and the USSR recognized it de jure. But then the Soviet Union, together with other countries, including the United States, voted for the creation, in addition to Israel, of an independent sovereign Arab state on the site of the former mandated territory of Palestine. The Soviet Government is not opposed to Israel but to the aggressive, expansionist policy of the Tel Aviv ruling circles and the realization of Israel's right to self-determination at the expense of the equally inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine.

Let us also note the fact that the Soviet Union meets its oil needs by extracting this important strategic raw material within the country. It also supplies oil to its allies as far as opportunities allow. The USSR has always adhered to the principle that natural riches are the property of the countries on whose territory they are located. The Soviet state is opposed to American-Israeli attempts to "pocket" the Arab peoples' oil and financial wealth and to turn Near East states into their raw material appendage. Our aim is to assert ties among states which would rule out all exploitation and discrimination and the use of economic levers as a tool of political pressure and interference in sovereign states' internal affairs.

The development of events in and around the Near East convinces us very clearly that it is certainly not the USSR but the United States and its allies that are seeking to lay "a hand in an iron glove" on the region and to make the Arabs servants in their own home. And to set up their "strategic" guard dog--Tel Aviv--as their overseer. To this end imperialist powers are supplying it with everything it needs to be able to kill Arabs and ruin their countries with impunity.

The Soviet Union considers it abnormal that an extremely dangerous situation has now persisted in the Near East region for a long time. It has repeatedly stated the need for its speediest liquidation and the establishment of just and lasting peace in the region. This would accord with the interests not only of the USSR alone but also those of all the peoples inhabiting the Near East and the adjacent regions.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

DRA MINISTER OF MINES INTERVIEWED ON SOVIET AID

TA020859 Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1500 GMT 31 Aug 85

[Text] Dear listeners, some time ago the fifth session of the outstanding committee of the Soviet and DRA governments on economic cooperation was inaugurated, and Najibollah Mas'ud, the DRA's minister of mines and industries, took part in the session along with other members of the Afghan delegation. In an interview with our correspondent regarding Soviet-Afghan cooperation in the development of this industrial sphere, he said:

[Begin recording] The committee's work was concluded in Moscow in an extremely comradely and warm atmosphere and filled with a sense of mutual cooperation. The topics relating to the Ministry of Mines and Industries, as well as the massive assistance rendered by the great Soviet Union in this respect, occupied a worthy place in the committee's work. On the basis of protocols signed previously with the Soviet Ministry of Geology and the Ministry of Gas Industry, the DRA's Ministry of Mines and Industries will obtain new and massive aid from the Soviet Union to increase the special operations of the gas fields and to determine as much as possible the gas reserves in the north of Afghanistan, as well as to boost the volume of gas exploration in the existing fields--fields whose reserves have already been determined. This aid is not limited to gas and oil alone. Its scope will expand to establishing laboratories equipped to break down solid minerals, as well as a laboratory that is unique in the region and in the sphere of industrial machinery and [word indistinct], within the context of the Ministry of Mines and Industries.

Our delegation expresses pleasure that the two sides fulfilled their obligations and commitments successfully during the past year. The DRA's Ministry of Mines, relying on the great assistance of the Soviet Union, provides a considerable part of the government's budget, particularly, the country's [word indistinct] revenue. [end recording]

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1 October 1985

## MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

## TACTICS, RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF IRAN-IRAQ WAR DESCRIBED

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 12, Jun 85 pp 81-85

[Article by V. Ivanenko, candidate of historical sciences: "Iran-Iraq War: Who Gains?"]

[Text] The Iran-Iraq war is in its fifth year. People are dying and cities and great material values are being destroyed. On both sides of the front ordinary people are asking when there will be an end to the bloodshed.

The world press has more than once turned its attention to the fact that Washington has taken a hand in inflaming the war. The changes which took place in Iran after the revolution clearly did not suit Washington. The loss of this country with its enormous oil resources and its Shah's regime, which had played the role of gendarme in the Near East, forced the United States to look for a way out of the situation which had arisen. In Paris LE FIGARO pointed to the trip around the Near East made in June 1980 by the shameless reactionary Z. Brezezinski, the then aide of the U.S. President, during which he engaged in incitement aimed at setting Iraq and Iran against one another. "The American maneuvers," the newspaper wrote, "were begun in the greatest secrecy, and in their cunning are worthy of Machiavelli, in the sense that Washington was to gain independently from the course of events."

What was Washington counting on? People there did not exclude the possibility that the war might lead to the rapid fall of the new Iranian regime, since the regular army, which had been defeated in the course of the revolution, was demoralized. And what if the war was prolonged? This variant, too, would suit Washington, since many years of economic and military ties between Iran and the United States would force Tehran to restore its cooperation with the West, including the United States. That is how it subsequently turned out...

The Iran-Iraq war turned into a constant hotbed of tension in the region of the Persian Gulf. Geographically, it closed, as it were, the arc of tension (in the terminology of the White House) which now stretches from North Africa (the Arab states and Israel) to southern Asia (India and Pakistan).

The military-political damage done by this war to the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist forces in the region is difficult to overestimate. The confrontation between Iran and Iraq has intensified the schism among the Arab states opposing Israel. Syria and Libya supported Iran while Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and some other Arab countries supported Iraq. Taking advantage of the favorable situation, Israel ventured on aggression in Lebanon, which made it possible for it to inflict a blow to the Palestine Liberation Organization and create a threat to Syria from the territory of Lebanon.

The war has promoted the rise of Muslim fanaticism, which has introduced a new element of tension within wide geographical boundaries. The Shiite extremists declare their intention of spreading "Islamic revolution" all over the world. Under the influence of the war, Islamic slogans are being used with even greater force as the ideological weaponry of the Afghan counterrevolutionaries who have taken refuge in Iran and Pakistan. Those same counterrevolutionaries stimulate hostile plotting against India.

The military tension near the Soviet Union's southern borders cannot but give rise to concern in our country, too, the more so since the new stage of the Iran-Iraq war is connected with the escalation of the sides' combat activity in the region of the Persian Gulf. And the United States uses any pretext to interfere in the regions of the Near East, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean, which since January 1983 have been included in the zone of operation of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM). A number of developing countries friendly to the Soviet Union are situated in this region. The only non-freezing sea route linking the European part of the USSR with the Far East is across the Indian Ocean.

What, then, are the distinctive features of the latest stages of the war, and the characteristic features of the military build-up, ideology, and politics of the fighting sides? Prevalence of phenomena that are "unconventional" from a contemporary point of view belong firmly to Iran. Practically new armed forces, to which it is difficult to find an analogy since World War II, were formed in Iran during the war. They were formed in the period of the lengthy stabilization of the front line on Iranian territory. The main idea in the construction of the new army in Iran--that of the "army of Islam" (as distinct from the "army of the Devil", that is, the Shah's army)--was borrowed from the experience of the distant past, when, at the dawn of Islam, all members of the Muslim community capable of bearing arms had to fulfill the soldier's duty. Thus the concept of the "20 million-strong army of the Iranian people" arose.

In the complex postrevolutionary period, as also at the present time, the new regime could not fully depend on the regular army, which had become the arena for the struggle between various political forces. Distrust in the army made the Islamic leaders create in parallel another military organization which was less well trained but more loyal and

reliable. The so-called "guards"--volunteer self-defense detachments--became this organization after they were purged of representatives of leftist forces. They made up the basis of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps. The further development of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps is connected with the Iran-Iraq war. A ministry of the Islamic revolutionary Guards Corps appeared, the number of its members increased, reaching a quarter of a million people, and a system of religious leadership of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps which ascends to Khomeini was finally formed.

The corps has acquired the function of political and ideological control over the army, while its cadres participate in the combat training of the "guards". Apart from these two elements of Iran's new armed forces, a third element has been formed, which is the "Organization for Mobilizing the Unfortunate", or simply "Mobilization" ("Basij" in Farsi). This last organization is engaged in gathering and training thousands of Iranians--from schoolchildren to the elderly--and placing them under the banner of the "army of Islam".

New armed forces with a peculiar structure have thus been formed in practice in Iran: the army, the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, and the Basij of which the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps is the cementing link. As a result of a series of wide-scale offensive operations, they have been able to liberate practically all of the country's territory which was occupied by Iraqi troops at one time.

In summer 1982 it would have seemed that favorable conditions for ending the war had been created: Iraqi troops had almost completely left Iranian territory and Iraq's leadership had been expressing its interest in halting the conflict from as early as October 1980. On 12 July 1982 the U.S. Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution with a demand that the war be halted. However, on 14 July a new offensive operation by Iranian troops which was code-named "Ramadan" began. In the opinion of the Iranian leadership, this operation was to signify the start of a new phase in the war, the phase of "liberation" of Iraq from the regime of Saddam Husayn.

The Iranians attacked in thick and extended lines of infantry which advanced under direct artillery and machinegun fire. The tactic of attack in a "human wave", which had brought them success when the Iraqi units, "lulled" by a lengthy period of quiet at the front, were unable to organize resistance to the Iranians' massed attacks, now failed to work. By the start of operation "Ramadan", the Iraqi higher command was able to reorganize itself and develop strategy and tactics of defensive warfare. In addition, the Iraqis began to fight considerably more stubbornly on their own territory. Mass training of the population in military affairs began. Summer military camps opened in which young people prepared for service in the 400,000-strong "people's army."

Counting on the numerical superiority of their troops, the Iranians continued to assault the Iraqi army's defense in spite of the failures which followed one after the other. The new offensive operations were unsuccessful. As the Western press reported, the majority of Iranian officers criticize the tactic of attacks in waves saturated with people. The interference of the clergy in the military sphere leads to many tactics being borrowed from the campaigns on the "Prophet Muhammad". Literature on military questions which is based on the "theoretical" foundations of 13 centuries' antiquity is published in the country.

The moral and ideological background of the war is highly distinctive. Characteristic of it is the wide use of nationalist and religious slogan and of historical analogies. In Iraq a parallel is drawn between the present war and the battle of Kadisiya in the year 637, when the Arabs routed the Persians. A newspaper with this name, which is devoted to military questions, is even published in the country.

In this war waged with contemporary weapons, ideological slogans of medieval origin, which are actively used to mobilize the spiritual forces of the army and population, are also extraordinarily important and come into the foreground. The slogans of "jihad"--the sacred war against the "infidels"--has also been proclaimed in other wars this century, and specifically in the Arab-Israeli wars, but it is precisely in the conflict between Iran and Iraq that they have played the role of a universal ideological weapon for the first time. The clergy has introduced a religious coloring even into the rear and engineering unit services of combat operations.

Iranian propaganda counts mainly on one of the aspect of "jihad", the cult of self-sacrifice, in order to compensate for the poor combat preparation of fighters with religious fanaticism and self-sacrifice. Cases of adolescents advancing before attacking troops and detonating minefields with their bodies are frequent. However, combat operations have shown that in contemporary conditions it is not enough merely to raise, even to a high level, the combat spirit of troops by such ideological means which operate as powerfully in the East as religion. Of course, the Muslim leadership is, to a certain extent, able to inspire the masses of representatives of the least well-educated and extremely religious strata of Iran's population which are conscripted into the armed forces. (The mullahs display considerable inventiveness in devising stimuli of bravery for the soldiers of the "army of Islam". Thus, during operation "Ramadan", fighters were presented before the attack with plastic keys which were to "open the gates of paradise to them").

Nevertheless, the moral-political readiness of the Iranian troops is, as a whole, low from a contemporary point of view. Characteristic of the masses of soldiers are incomprehension of the aims of the war; fanaticism, frequently based on religious narrow-mindedness and blind submission to the clergy; poor military-technical knowledge; and so forth. The result is great human losses, confusion about controlling units and subunits, and poor utilization of combat equipment.

When the war became such that resolving tasks on the battle field was impossible without the professional organization of combat operations and the intelligent use of equipment (which, incidentally, the Iraqi side has mastered), the situation changed. According to statistics in the Western press, Iranian pilots frequently do not wish to fly over Iraqi targets which are well defended by surface-to-air missiles. There are cases where tank crews abandon their machines and flee if they are sent into battle. And "guards" finding themselves encircled surrender as prisoners in their masses.

The Iran-Iraq war sufficiently clearly illustrates the consequences of military cooperation with imperialist states for developing countries. Take, for example, the Iranian Air Force, in which the Americans held complete sway until the revolution. Precisely the Air Force was the elite, most powerful arm of the Shah's armed forces. At the same time it was entirely dependent upon supplies from the other side of the ocean of spare parts for the aircraft, and experienced an acute shortage of aircraft technicians (Americans were used for technical duties). This kind of military "cooperation" made it possible for the Pentagon not only to sell its services at a high price, but also to place the Iranian Air Force under its control and render it helpless if the junior partner should disobey.

According to foreign sources, throughout the course of the war Iran has had 6-10 times fewer aircraft in action than Iraq. The Iraqi Air Force's advantage over the Iranian Air Force has been apparent since the very first days of combat operations. Iranian pilots have lost air battles. Observers have noted their poor training in flying. The most complex American aircraft, such as the F-14, are rarely taken into the air because there is no one to service them.

But, nevertheless, the war--protracted, senseless, and fratricidal--continues. The Iraqi side has repeatedly called for an end to this war, as have various international organizations and intermediary missions. However, Iran is stubborn as before, having subordinated its strategy to the slogan "War till victory." The striving by certain circles in Iran to continue the "war till its victorious conclusion" shows that, for them, the state of war is more important than the price that has to be paid for it.

What is involved here? Objectively, the war has helped to strengthen the positions of the clergy, which has skillfully whipped up the wave of religious fervor created by the war among certain strata of the Iranian population comprising the regime's mass support--shopkeepers, hawkers, and other representatives of the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpen proletariat. At the same time, the clergy has rained down repressions on the country's left-wing forces--the Fedayeen and Mujahedeen organizations, the People's Party of Iran, that is, on those who were once in the vanguard of the struggle to overthrow the Shah's regime. Naturally, in a state of war it is considerably easier for the clergy to deal with their political opponents, by including them in the camp of "enemy accomplices."

Iran's former dependence on supplies of American military equipment has already been discussed. It seems that even now, despite a formal prohibition by the State Department, the American "gun kings" who had extensive connections with the Shah's Iran do not intend to lose the Iranian market. American munitions worth hundreds of millions of dollars have entered Iran via a system of false persons and institutions, such as the firm Persian Carpets organized by the wealthy Iranian businessman B. Hashemi, and through private arms dealers. It is through these channels that spare parts for fighter-bombers, tanks, armored personnel carriers, and so forth have been supplied. Israeli firms and companies from other countries, including the South Korean aircraft company Korean Airlines, famous for its connections with the CIA, are also involved in supplying weapons to Iran.

Appreciable changes in the nature of the war occurred after the Iranian "Kheybar" offensive in February 1984. As a whole this offensive, like many preceding it, was repelled with great losses for Tehran. Nevertheless, this time the Iranians succeeded in establishing a bridgehead on the oil-bearing Majnun Islands, where one tenth of Iraq's "black gold" reserves is concentrated.

After the Iranian offensive, Iraq declared a blockade of Khark Island, on which Iran's largest oil exporting port is situated. The northeastern part of the Persian Gulf was declared a zone of military operations.

Oil provides the main income of both countries. Under war conditions the export of "black gold" acquires particularly great significance, because it safeguards purchases of weapons and ammunition. Since the beginning of the war this export has begun to fall off sharply. However, Iran has retained a serious advantage over Iraq, because it has a considerably broader exit into the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea with the main oil lines that cross it. Iran threatened to close the Strait of Hormuz leading into the Persian Gulf, through which some oil is imported by West European countries and Japan. In its turn Iraq has begun to strike foreign tankers in the region of the Gulf. Combat operations have been transferred from land to sea. The Persian Gulf states have suffered most from the reduction in oil exports.

During a year of attacks on vessels, according to statistics of the London insurance company, Lloyds, a total of 79 vessels have been destroyed or damaged. Iraq is responsible for two thirds of these attacks.

Although Iraq has carried out its blockade of Khark Island more or less successfully, observers note that it has rapidly demonstrated the limited potentials of such a strategy. Iran's threat to close the Strait of Hormuz is also regarded as unrealistic because of the technical difficulties of carrying out this threat and also in connection with the fact that Iran would deprive itself of this channel for exporting oil. Thus, the "tanker war" has not given either side any tangible advantage. It has led to growth in the breadth of the conflict. The United States

has made use of the existing situation to increase its military presence in the region. President Reagan lost no time. In announcing his determination to "safeguard shipping in the Strait of Hormuz," U.S. Navy vessels have been massed near the strait. Washington has begun to openly threaten the region with its militarist fist.

At the end of August 1984 information leaked into the American press on a top-secret memorandum drawn up in May by Admiral Howe, then chief of the State Department Bureau of Military Affairs. The memorandum gave a characterization of the five thresholds" which the United States must cross before entering into a war with Iran. The third, fourth, and fifth "thresholds" are noteworthy:

The Gulf states regard "the threat from Iran" as so serious that "they appeal to the United States to give them active military assistance";

The United States actively participates in defending the Gulf with the aid of patrol ships, aircraft carriers, and fighters. This "threshold" will most likely be crossed in the event of any objectives in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait coming under attack by Iran;

The Iranians either deliberately or accidentally kill American soldiers participating in limited operations at the fourth stage. In this case, the United States will begin military operations against Iran with "the active use of American forces until objectives on Iranian territory have been liquidated."

From all this, one can draw the conclusion that the broadening of the Iran-Iraq war has created a threat of direct military intervention by American imperialism in the zone of the Persian Gulf.

Following the failure of its February 1984 offensive, Iran began intensive preparation for its next "decisive offensive." In expectation of this, Iraqi troops strengthened their combat formations still further. They flooded the area in front of their positions, thereby creating an additional water barrier against the enemy. Iraq is waging the war economically, trying to reduce human losses to a minimum. In addition to the regular army, the Iraqi command has had to bring fighters from the Ba'ath Party's People's Army to the front. As a rule, they are in the second echelon, ensuring the defense of strategic objectives, including the oil pipeline through which Iraqi oil reaches the Turkish port of Dartyo.

Fresh escalation in the Iran-Iraq war took place in March this year. Accusing one another of violating the agreement reached in June 1984 under the aegis of the United Nations--an agreement to renounce the bombing and shelling of populated areas--both sides began air raids on towns located in the heart of enemy territory, and also the artillery shelling of populated areas on the border. Among the first

to be hit on Iranian territory was Ahvaz, and on Iraqi territory--Basra and Mandali. All subsequent bombing of cities have been explained by the necessity to "respond to the enemy."

Foreign observers assumed that the exacerbation of the situation and the bombing of cities would force the Iranian regime to launch the offensive which it had been preparing for more than a year. This is what happened. The offensive began on 11 March 1985. As Tehran stated, it was undertaken "in response to Iraq's bombing of peaceful inhabitants." Iranian troops had carried out strikes so many times already in the direction of the strategic road from Basra to Baghdad. The battles took place at the front between the two points of Al Qurnah and Muzayra. Iranian troops tried to extend the scale of the offensive further to the south and north of this area. Divisions and brigades of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards and the militia, airborne troops, special purpose troops, and some units of the coastal defense participated in this. According to various statistics, as many as eight Tehran division (approximately 50,000 men) participated in the offensive. According to Iraqi officers, the Iranian units were brought up to full strength with poorly trained soldiers and were badly armed.

During the combat operations, which continued one week, Iranian troops laid a large pontoon bridge over the marshes for the purpose of transferring reserves. Iranian sapper subunits tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to lay a bridge across the River Tigris. Those in boats reached the western bank of the marshes which marked the beginning of Iraqi territory. At this point the helicopter assault landing was abandoned. Some Iranian subunits were able to reach the Basra-Baghdad road and dig themselves in half a kilometer away from it.

In March 1985 the Iranian infantry, having broken through to the river Tigris, was unable to consolidate its position. The lack of fire support and air cover and also of well-organized rear supplies had a telling effect. The successful defense of the Iraqis was furthered by the favorable local conditions, the closeness of the rears, and the active use of barrelled and rocket artillery. The Iraqi army's tank reserves were used both as a means of fire support for the defending troops and also as a strike force for liquidating the Iranians' breakthroughs. The Iraqi air force maintained air supremacy, carrying out up to 1,000 aircraft sorties a day in the period of the harshest battles.

In order not to allow the Iranian troops to break through, the Iraqi command created a new highly mobile corps called the "forces of the Eastern Tigris" [sily vostochnogo tигра]. This corps drove the Iranians from the small islands of dry land, and then the air force bombed them in the marshes. Part of the Iranian forces war, it is true, able to retreat through the marshes. The Iranian units which had come close to the Basra-Baghdad road were driven back 15 kilometers, that is, almost to Iranian territory, by means of counterattacks involving the



use of heavy artillery and the air force. The Iranian troops which had crossed the Tigris were destroyed. However, the Iranians nevertheless maintained control of some sectors of territory east of the Tigris.

Both sides suffered serious losses. According to figures from IRNA, the Iranian news agency, 12,000 Iraqis were killed, and according to the Iraqi figures, 27,000 Iranians were killed.

The victims of the new escalation were far from limited to the senseless bloodshed at the front. In the period of the Iranian offensive the "war against cities" flared up with new force. The Iraqi Air Force carried out raids on Isfahan, Tabriz, Abadan, Bakhtaran [spelling as transliterated], Bushire, and Arak [spelling as transliterated]. Aircraft of the Iraqi Air Force bombed Tehran.

The Iranian Air Force also carried out raids on Iraqi cities, but as it possesses considerably less combat potential, it inflicted less damage on them. For this reason the Iranian command began bombarding Baghdad with surface-to-surface missiles.

The escalation of the war has not brought the desired results to either of the sides. Iran was again unable to overthrow the present Iraqi regime, and rapidly set about preparing for a new, and this time "general", offensive. Iraq, which had counted on forcibly making Iran halt the war, did not achieve its goals, either.

The war has placed the heaviest burden on the population of both countries. In Iraq a lack of workforce is being felt. According to some calculations, the war is diverting about one third of the country's labor resources in one way or another. The periodic rallies in which members of the "people's army" participate every 3 weeks lead to great production losses. But the country's main misfortune is the thousands of lives taken by the war. The Iraqi army's losses in the field of battle amount, according to some foreign calculations, to 70,000 people.

The situation in Iran is also complex. According to figures cited in the Western press, the Iranians have lost 400,000 people in the field of battle. Two million Iranians have had to leave towns and villages on the western border. Production of agricultural products is decreasing catastrophically, and imports of them are continuing to increase. Industry is working at 40 percent of its capacity. In regions close to the front about 3,400 enterprises have been destroyed or damaged. Of the 20 million able-bodied population of Iran, 5 million are unemployed. Strikes never cease in enterprises.

The economic losses borne by both sides are, according to figures from Western sources, so great that Iraq will take 10 years to recover, and Iran will take 20 years.

The attitude toward the war is far from uniform in Iran. Some parents take their children out of school in order to keep them from the recruiters who comb educational establishments in search of reinforcements for the front.

Representatives of Leftist forces and all conscientious patriots consistently come out against the war. Antiwar sentiments are also strong in the regular army. Cases of officers of the Iranian army fleeing abroad on hijacked military and civilian aircraft have become more frequent. Western observers note differences of views on the expediency of continuing the war even among the clergy, and in its highest echelons. Antiwar demonstrations have begun in the towns.

Theoretically, military superiority continues to lie on the side of Iran. It has almost three times as many human resources as Iraq (40 million against 14 million). Figures published in October 1984 by the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London show that Iran's superiority in numbers of troops and reserves is neutralized by Iran's superiority in the quantity and quality of its combat equipment.

Comrade M. S. Gorbachev recently drew attention to the great danger in contemporary conditions of conflicts in various regions of the globe. At their base, as a rule, lie attempts by imperialist powers to interfere in the affairs of liberated countries in one form or another and to subject them to their influence. It is precisely in this, M.S. Gorbachev stressed, that the reasons for the appearance of many hotbeds of tension in the world are concealed.

The resolution of the question of the fate of the Iran-Iraq war should lie within the political sphere. But for the moment, the senseless fratricidal war is inflaming the already existing hotbed of tension in this region. Only the enemies of Iran and Iraq are warming their hands at it, while the peoples of both these countries are far from gaining from it.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

DRA PROMULGATES NEW LAW ON LOCAL ORGANS OF STATE POWER

Moscow SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV in Russian No 7, Jul 85 pp 107-109

[Article by V. Kravchenko, doctor of law, professor: "A Key Problem: The Law on Local Organs of State Authority and Control in Afghanistan"]

[Text] One of the tasks of the April revolution in Afghanistan was the creation of a new state apparatus and a system of revolutionary organs of power. The People's Democratic Party (PDPA) has constantly given attention to this question, and after the revolution has directly embarked upon building a new state apparatus, and upon strengthening and developing it. It has ascribed a particularly important role to the creation of local organs of state power and government.

The experience of revolutionary movements shows that victory over domestic and foreign enemies and the development of the revolution itself are possible only thanks to the political activity of the broad public masses and their direct participation in state construction.

The revolution itself creates the conditions for such activity. One of the forms of involving the masses in the revolutionary process and in state construction are the local organs of power which are created by a democratic means. Strengthening these on site is the cardinal question of the revolutionary transformation of society.

As noted at the all-national party conference, a new political system has been created in the DRA, and its basic elements have been defined. This system consists of the party, the state, the National Home Front, the professional unions, the Democratic Organization of Afghanistan Youth (DOMA), the Democratic Organization of Afghanistan Women (DOZhA), and associations of the creative intelligentsia. However, this does not mean that the process of developing and strengthening the political system has been completed. Its development is associated with a series of other measures implemented by the party and the state. Therefore, the task of its further development remains quite current.

One of the basic principles of formulating the new political system is the public representation. Thanks to it, direct democratic relations are established, as well as a unity between the mass of workers and the elective organs. The PDPA stems from this, setting the task of radical reorganization of the old and creation of new representative organs in all the administrative units--the

provinces, districts, volosts and kishlaks.\* Many factors serve to ensure this unity, and primarily the socio-political nature of the new state.

There are two most important conditions in this construction. The first is the fact that the revolutionary processes must spread throughout the entire territory, so that radical transformations may take place not only in the center, but also in the most remote areas. The second is the necessary application of traditional, relatively progressive forms of self-government, their creative transformation, infusion with new content, and subordination to revolutionary tasks.

In Afghanistan such a traditional form of social control are the Jirgas, unique meetings of the population at which questions having important significance for individual large and small administrative-territorial units are collectively resolved. After the April revolution, Jirgas began to play a more notable role in political life. They everywhere facilitated the strengthening of the new authority and bringing to life the achievements of the revolution. However, traditional Jirgas are not permanently operating organs. They are created for resolving specific questions, and therefore cannot have any serious effect on public and state life, as they are not organs of power. However, as a traditional form of socio-political activity of the masses, Jirgas have become one of the factors ensuring the process of strengthening the state power on site.

In the course of the revolutionary transformations in the DRA, local state organs have been retained as the organs of government, but not power. In the provinces they were headed by governors, and in the districts and volosts--by chiefs. The system, its structure, and even the staff remained in the same form in which they existed prior to the April revolution. Their activity was regulated by statutes which were in effect to 1978.

The history of Afghanistan testifies to the fact that in the past, local authority was implemented, as a rule, without support of the public masses and without attracting the population to its activity. Although there were archaic forms of tribal democracy, its functions were reduced merely to questions of self-regulation and resolution of internal affairs.

The authority of the local organs was limited primarily to collecting taxes and duties, and to enforcing the laws suitable to the ruling regime. The people and the local organs stood on opposite sides of the social-political barrier. The population saw in these organs not only the representative of a central power which was foreign to it, but also viewed them as its oppressor, as an instrument of suppression.

After the April revolution the local organs had to become the means of involving the population in managing the state and the public affairs, and its revolu-

\* In the DRA there are 29 provinces, 186 districts, 99 volosts, and over 30,000 kishlaks and 91 cities. There are districts which have no subordinate volosts, as well as volosts which are subordinate to several provinces.

tionization. Despite the imperfection of the system and certain shortcomings inherited from previous regimes, these organs really did perform and still continue to perform important work on strengthening state authority at the local sites and expanding and intensifying the revolutionary processes. The PDPA promoted people devoted to the revolution to leadership positions.

Local organs participate in implementing agrarian reform, give aid in working the land, distribute sowing material and fertilizer, regulate water use, and perform repair of schools, hospitals, and mosques. In conjunction with the military and law enforcement organs, they wage a battle against crime and counterrevolution, strengthen the public order, and perform agitation and propaganda work directed at exposing anti-popular goals of counterrevolutionary bands, involving activists, elders, and the clergy in this work.

However, we must note that the local organs of power in solving the narrow circle of economic and social-cultural questions, have not always kept in constant contact with the population. The contacts and cooperation with mass public organizations were insufficient, and the financial base was limited.

Among the weak points of local state organs we must list the understaffing of their apparatus and the high rate of personnel turnover. For example, according to the state of affairs for 1984, the apparatus of local organs of state control was staffed to only 75 percent, while the management posts in volosts and city mayorships were staffed by only 40-50 percent. The population was insufficiently informed about the decisions of the party and the government, which led to incomplete implementation of these decisions.

Numerous documents of the PDPA repeatedly pointed out these and other shortcomings in the work of the local organs of state control. The PDPA clearly understood that the successful development of state construction and political relations requires bringing the local organs of power closer to the population not only in a territorial and functional sense, but also in an organizational sense. As the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party noted, the organs of state power created in the provinces and in most of the districts, despite all the shortcomings in their day-to-day activity, are able to resolve their tasks. However, their construction and development does not correspond to the requirements of life and the real situation.

At the 13th Plenum of the PDPA Central Committee held in March of 1984, PDPA Central Committee Secretary General B. Karmal pointed out that it is necessary to "break down the artificial barrier between the working masses and the state mechanism which has been created by the exploiters, involve [the masses] in participation in the state mechanism, democratize this work and enrich its content." This was the main purpose in preparing the outline of the law on local organs of state control and management which, after public discussion, was adopted in the same year 1984 at the session of the Revolutionary Council.

In beginning the development of the new law, the PDPA proceeded from the fact that under conditions of low culture and illiteracy of a significant portion

of the population and its socio-political inertness, the local authorities must awaken political activity and acquaint the workers with socially beneficial activity. This idea is implemented today with the help of the new law.

Primarily those general indicators and traits which are presented in the Basic Principles (temporary constitution) of the DRA are peculiar to this law. These are the guiding and directing role of the PDPA, democracy, democratic law, and equal rights of the citizens. It directly states that "the local organs of state power and government perform their activity on the basis of principles of collectivism, initiative, widespread involvement of the population, legality and fairness," and that they "will respect the tribal institutions of government, traditions and customs," and also that the local organs "are guided in their activity by the basic principles of the DRA, the laws and directives of the Revolutionary Council, and by the decisions of superior organs of state power and government."

The law expands and develops the system of basic rights and freedoms of citizens, stressing among them the right of participation in public activity and state government. This right is not simply declared, but is guaranteed. Any limitation of the rights of citizens to participate in the activity of organs of authority and government and any discrimination in this are prohibited.

The new law encompasses by its regulatory effect the basic questions associated with the formation and organization of the work of local organs in all the administrative-territorial segments. It provides for the creation of elective Jirgas, people's representatives in the provinces, cities, city rayons, districts, volosts and kishlaks, which thereby take on a new quality and become permanently active organs of power. The purpose of all this is to establish democratic bases for the organization and activity of local Jirgas, to involve the people in the management of state affairs, to regulate the relations of local organs of power with the ministries and departments, etc.

The law defines the multi-stage, indirect order of elections, with the exception of election of kishlak Jirgas. This order, under the conditions of current reality in Afghanistan, is the most expedient. Voting is not by secret ballot, but open, i.e., by the method most accessible to the people and corresponding to the traditions of the country. The elections are conducted in stages, with the election days set individually for each level of administrative-territorial units.

The elections are general. All citizens 18 years of age or older, regardless of race, national and tribal origin, language, sex, place of residence or settlement, religious affiliation, education, or social status, have the right to participate in them. Anyone who has the right to vote also has the right to be elected as a people's representative of a local organ of state power for a period of 4 years.

The right to present candidates for people's representatives belongs to the National Home Front as the representative of the organizations belonging to it, as well as to the labor collectives and meetings of military service in their units and citizens by their place of residence.

The local Jirgas are charged with great and responsible tasks, for whose solution they are given extensive rights. They ensure adherence to the Basic Principles of the DRA and other acts of superior state organs. They take measures to ensure public order, to protect the rights and freedoms of the citizens, the rights and legal interests of state, mixed, and private enterprises and public organizations. They cooperate with organs of the court and the procurator's office in their work and with enforcement of the law on general military obligation. They create civil defense organizations, committees for protection of the revolution, and tribal militia. They render support to public organizations in their work. They organize the implementation of state plans for economic and social development, cooperate in the implementation of land-water reform, create schools to liquidate illiteracy, etc.

The basic form of work of the Jirga is the session, at which all questions related to the competency of these organs of power are resolved. At the same time, the law also defines those questions which are the exclusive competency of the session. These are the election of executive committees, the review of reports by people's representatives about their work, the acknowledgement of their rights, as well as the approval of budgets and reports on their fulfillment. The Jirga sessions are convened by the ispolkoms [executive committees] no less than twice a year and are considered valid if over half of the people's representatives are present.

To ensure the uninterrupted functioning and continuous solution of the problems placed on the Jirgas, ispolkoms are formed at the first session (made up primarily of people's representatives). These ispolkoms consist of a chairman, his deputy, a secretary, and the members. Members of the clergy may be elected to the ispolkoms upon the recommendation of the Main Administration on Islamic Questions under the DRA Council of Ministers. Representatives of the nationalities and tribes may be elected upon the recommendation of the DRA Ministry of Nationalities and Tribal Affairs, even though they are not public representatives of their Jirgas.

The law directly states that the tribal institutions of government, traditions and customs will be respected in the regions of tribal settlement.

For management of the sectors of economic and social-cultural construction, the Jirgas if necessary form appropriate administrations and sections.

The democratic character of the new organs of state power at the local sites is especially clearly manifested in the definition of the status of the people's representative. The law states that "to be a people's representative of a local Jirga is an honored responsibility." He takes part in the resolution of vital questions, submits questions for review by the session, and has other rights. At the same time, he is charged with responsibilities of active participation in the work of the Jirga.

The people's representatives perform their duties on a voluntary basis. However, the law does provide for certain privileges providing for the creation of favorable conditions for work in the Jirgas and in the territory subordinate to them. The people's representative has the trust of the people and bears a

responsibility to them. He may be relieved of his duties prior to expiration of his term by the organ which elected him, or recalled by the voters.

Thus, the democratism of the new law is reflected primarily in its content. But there is yet another rather important aspect. This is the democratism of the procedure for development and adoption of such an important statute. Many commissions worked on its draft outline, various meetings were conducted and discussions were held with specialists and workers of party and state organs. It was first discussed by a commission comprised of representatives of all nationalities in the DRA. At the decision of the Revolutionary Council it was discussed for almost 2 years by the country's general public, which expressed numerous hopes and comments. This has become a testimony to the strength of people's rule and to the democratization of the political regime in the country.

The adoption of the law has opened great possibilities for the growth of the political activity of the masses and has ensured the broad participation of the workers and all the progressive and patriotic forces in Afghan society in the antifeudal and national-democratic transformations taking place under the leadership of the Revolutionary Council, and in the cause of protecting the homeland and the April revolution.

Preparing for the elections has become one of the central questions in the activity of the organs of power and the party organizations. The course of this preparation has been repeatedly discussed at meetings of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and the DRA Revolutionary Council Presidium. The decision was made to begin the elections first in 5 provinces out of 29. A study has been conducted of the law on local organs of power and government by seminars of PDPA party organization secretaries, governors, and workers in means of mass information.

The implementation of this law has become a key problem in the life of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The local organs of power which are close to the people and tied to it by thousands of ties are called upon to exert serious and beneficial influence on the social and state life of the country.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

TEXT OF USSR-YAR CONSULAR CONVENTION

Moscow VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SOYUZA SOVETSKIKH SOTSIALISTICHESKIKH RESPUBLIK in Russian No 18 (2300), 1 May 85 pp 255-270

[Ukase No 308 of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the Consular Convention Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Yemen Arab Republic]

[Text] The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Yemen Arab Republic, being guided by the desire for the further development of the existing friendly relations and the cooperation between the two states, desiring to regulate the consular relations between them, have decided to conclude the present Consular Convention and to this end have agreed to the following:

PART I

Definitions

Article 1

In the present Convention, the terms cited below have the following meaning:

- 1) "Consulate" means consulate general, consulate, vice-consulate, and consular agency;
- 2) "consular district" means the territory of the state of residence assigned to the consulate for the execution of its functions;
- 3) "head of the consulate" means the person who is charged with managing the consulate;
- 4) "consular official" means any person, including the head of the consulate, who is charged with the execution of consular functions. The definition of "consular official" also includes people attached to the consulate for instruction in consular service;
- 5) "consular staff member" means any person who is not a consular official and performs administrative or technical duties in the consulate or duties in regard to servicing the consulate;
- 6) "consular premises" means the buildings, parts of buildings, including the residence of the head of the consulate, auxiliary premises, as well as plots of land servicing these buildings, parts of buildings and auxiliary premises, utilized exclusively for consular purposes, regardless of whose property

they are;

7) "consular archives" means the entire official correspondence, code, documents, books, technical means for office work, as well as equipment intended for their storage;

8) "vessel of the state being represented" means any vessel sailing under the flag of this state;

9) "citizen of the state being represented", depending on the context, also means legal entity.

## PART II

### ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSULATES, APPOINTMENT OF CONSULAR OFFICIALS AND CONSULAR STAFF MEMBERS

#### Article 2

1. A consulate may be established in the state of residence only with the agreement of this state.

2. The location of the consulate and the boundaries of its consular district are determined by agreement between the state being represented and the state of residence.

#### Article 3

Only a citizen of the state being represented may be a consular official.

#### Article 4

1. Prior to the appointment of the head of the consulate, the state being represented must make certain through diplomatic channels that this person will receive the consent of the state of residence for his recognition as head of the consulate.

2. The state being represented, through its diplomatic representation, sends a consular certificate or other document concerning the appointment of the head of the consulate to the ministry of foreign affairs of the state of residence. The certificate or other document indicates the full first name and surname of the head of the consulate, his rank, the consular district in which he will perform his duties, and the location of the consulate.

3. Upon presentation of the certificate or other document concerning the appointment of the head of the consulate, the state of residence, within the shortest possible time and free of charge, issues him a permit [ekzekvatura] or other permission.

4. The head of the consulate may begin with the performance of his duties after the state of residence has issued him a permit or other permission.

5. Prior to issuing a permit or other permission, the state of residence may grant provisional consent to the head of the consulate for the execution of his functions.

6. From the moment of recognition, including provisional recognition, the authorities of the state of residence take the necessary measures to enable the head of the consulate to carry out his functions.

## Article 5

1. The state being represented reports to the ministry of foreign affairs of the state of residence:

- a) The full first name and surname and the position of a consular official not appointed as head of the consulate;
- b) the first name and surname of a consular staff member.

The state of residence will consider them as having started the performance of their duties after the receipt of such information by the ministry of foreign affairs.

2. The competent authorities of the state of residence issue appropriate certifications to the consular officials, the staff members of the consulate, and to the members of their families living together with them.

## Article 6

The state of residence may at any time, without being obligated to justify its decision, inform the state being represented through diplomatic channels, that the permit or other permission given to the head of the consulate is taken back or that a consular official or staff member of the consulate is unacceptable. In such a case, the state being represented must recall such a consular official or staff member of the consulate, if he has already begun with his work. If the state being represented does not carry out this obligation within a reasonable time period, the state of residence may refuse to recognize such a person as a consular official or staff member of the consulate.

## Article 7

1. If for any reason the head of the consulate cannot carry out his functions or if the position of the head of the consulate is temporarily vacant, the state being represented may authorize a consular official of the given or other consulate in the state of residence, or one of the members of the diplomatic personnel of its diplomatic representation in the state of residence, to direct the consulate on a temporary basis. The full first name and surname of this person are in advance communicated to the ministry of foreign affairs of the state of residence.

2. The person authorized to direct the consulate temporarily has the right to carry out the duties of the head of the consulate and to enjoy the same privileges and immunities which are granted to the head of the consulate in accordance with the provisions of the present Convention.

3. The appointment of a member of the diplomatic personnel of the diplomatic representation of the state being represented to a consulate in accordance with paragraph 1 of the present article does not affect the privileges and immunities which are granted to him by virtue of his diplomatic status.

## Article 8

1. The rights and duties of consular officials provided for by this Convention extend to the members of the diplomatic personnel of the diplomatic representation of the state being represented in the state of residence, who have been charged with the execution of consular functions in this state.

2. The execution of consular functions by persons indicated in paragraph 1 of the present article does not affect the privileges and immunities which are granted to them by virtue of their diplomatic status.

## Article 9

1. The state being represented may, in accordance with the conditions and in the form provided for by the legislation of the state of residence, acquire for property, possession or utilization, plots of land, buildings, parts of buildings and auxiliary premises, build and reconstruct buildings and improve plots of land that are necessary for the location of consular premises and housing facilities of consular officials and staff members of the consulate. In case of necessity, the state of residence extends appropriate assistance in this to the state being represented.

2. The provisions of paragraph 1 of the present article do not free the state being represented from the necessity of observing the laws and regulations regarding construction and city planning that are applied in the district where the relevant plots of land, buildings, parts of buildings and auxiliary premises are located.

## PART III

### PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES

## Article 10

The state of residence guarantees protection to the consular official and takes the necessary measures to enable the consular official to carry out his duties and enjoy the rights, privileges and immunities provided for by the present Convention and by the legislation of the state of residence. The state of residence takes the necessary measures to guarantee the protection of the consular premises and the housing facilities of consular officials.

## Article 11

1. The consular shield with the coat of arms of the state being represented and the name of the consulate in the language of the state being represented and in the language of the state of residence may be fastened to the exterior side of the building in which the consulate is located.

2. The flag of the state being represented may be flown on the building of the consulate and also on the residence of the head of the consulate.

3. The head of the consulate may hang out the flag of the state being represented on his means of conveyance.

## Article 12

1. Consular premises are inviolable. The authorities of the state of residence may not enter the consular premises without the consent of the head of the consulate, the head of the diplomatic representation of the state being represented, or a person designated by one of them.

2. The provisions of paragraph 1 of the present article apply to the housing facilities of consular officials and staff members of consulates who are citizens of the state being represented.

## Article 13

Consular archives are inviolable at any time and regardless of their location.

## Article 14

1. The consulate has the right to communicate with the government, the diplomatic representations and the consulates of the state being represented. To this end, the consulate may use all the usual means of communication, code, diplomatic and consular couriers and pouches. When the usual means of communication are used, the same rates are applied to the consulate as are applied to the diplomatic representation.

The consulate may set up and operate a radio transmitter and telex only with the consent of the state of residence.

2. The official correspondence of the consulate, regardless of what means of communication are used by it, and consular pouches with visible external signs indicating their official character are inviolable and may not be detained by the authorities of the state of residence.

3. Consular couriers of the state being represented enjoy the same rights, privileges and immunities on the territory of the state of residence as diplomatic couriers.

4. A consular pouch may be entrusted to the captain of a ship or an aircraft. This captain is supplied with an official document indicating the number of pieces constituting the pouch, but he is not regarded as a consular courier. A consular official may take a consular pouch directly and unimpededly from the captain of a ship or aircraft, as well as to hand over such a pouch.

## Article 15

1. Consular officials, staff members of the consulate, and the members of their families living with them enjoy personal inviolability. They are not subject to arrest or detainment in any form whatsoever. These provisions do not extend to persons who are citizens of the state of residence, as well as persons permanently residing in it.

2. The state of residence is obligated to treat consular officials, the staff members of the consulate, and the members of their families living with them with the proper respect and to take all appropriate measures for the prevention of any infringements on their person, freedom and dignity.

## Article 16

1. Consular officials, staff members of a consulate, and the members of their families living with them enjoy immunity from the jurisdiction of the state of residence, with the exception of civil suits:

a) relating to private real estate located on the territory of the state of residence, unless they have possession of it in the name of the state being represented for consular purposes;

b) relating to inheritance, when they appear as executor of a will, guardian of hereditary property, heir or non-recipient [otkazopoluchatel'] as private persons, but not on behalf of the state being represented;

c) relating to professional or commercial activity being carried out by them in the state of residence beyond their official functions;

d) emanating from a contract concluded by them, according to which they directly or indirectly did not assume obligations as representative of the state being represented;

e) of a third party for injury inflicted in the state of residence by an accident caused by a means of transportation.

2. No executive measures may be taken with respect to the persons mentioned in paragraph 1 of the present article, with the exception of cases provided for in subparagraphs "a", "b", "c", "d" and "e" of this paragraph, and only on condition that the relevant measures can be taken without infringement of the inviolability of their person or their housing facilities.

3. The immunities provided for in the present article do not extend to persons who are citizens of the state of residence or reside permanently in it.

## Article 17

1. The state being represented may refuse the immunity of consular officials, staff members of a consulate, and members of their families living with them. In all cases, the refusal must be definitely expressed in written form.

The refusal of immunity from jurisdiction in civil and administrative cases does not signify refusal of immunity with respect to the execution of a decision, for which a special refusal is required.

2. If consular officials, staff members of a consulate, or members of their families living with them bring a suit in regard to which they would enjoy immunity in accordance with Article 16 of the present Convention, they do not have the right to cite immunity from jurisdiction in relation to any counter suit directly related to the basic suit.

## Article 18

1. A consular official is not obligated to give testimony as a witness before a court or any other competent authorities of the state of residence.

2. A staff member of a consulate is in court to give testimony. He may refuse to give testimony concerning circumstances relating to his official activity.

However, in all cases the taking of any coercive measures with respect to the staff member of a consulate is inadmissible.

3. The provisions of the present article respectively apply to the members

of the families of consular officials and staff members of a consulate if they live together with them and are not citizens of the state of residence.

#### Article 19

Consular officials, staff members of a consulate, and the members of their families living together with them, if they are not citizens of the state of residence and do not reside in it permanently, are freed from service in the armed forces in the state of residence and from all types of compulsory duties.

#### Article 20

Consular officials, staff members of a consulate and the members of their families living together with them are freed from carrying out all the requirements provided for by the laws and rules of the state of residence concerning the registration, the receipt of a residence permit, and other similar requirements made of foreigners.

#### Article 21

1. Consular premises and housing facilities of consular officials and staff members of a consulate, if this property is the property or is rented on behalf of the state being represented or any physical or juridical person acting on behalf of this state, as well as transactions or documents relating to the acquisition of the indicated property, are freed from the assessment or exaction of any taxes or other similar collections of any type.

2. The provisions of paragraph 1 of the present article do not relate to the payment of concrete types of services, including municipal services.

#### Article 22

The state being represented is freed from taxes or any similar collections of any type on movable property which is the property of this state or which is in its possession or use and is utilized for consular purposes, as well as in connection with the acquisition of such property.

#### Article 23

1. Consular officials and staff members of a consulate are freed from the payment of all taxes and other similar collections of any type imposed or levied by the state of residence with respect to wages received by them for the performance of official duties.

2. Consular officials and staff members of a consulate, as well as members of their families living together with them, are also freed, in the state of residence, from all taxes and collections, state and local, including taxes and collections for movable property belonging to them.

3. The releases provided for in paragraph 2 of the present article are not applied in relation to:

a) Taxes and collections on personal real estate located in the state of residence;

b) taxes and collections on inheritance and the acquisition of property in the state of residence, with the exception of taxes and collections from the payment of which release is applied in accordance with Article 25 of the present Convention;

c) taxes and collections on private income received from sources in the state of residence;

d) taxes and collections on transactions and documents registering or relating to transactions, including state duties of all types, imposed or levied in connection with such transactions, with the exception of taxes and collections from the payment of which release is applied in accordance with Article 21 of the present Convention;

e) payments for concrete types of services.

4) The provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2 of the present article do not extend to persons who are citizens of the state of residence or who reside in it permanently.

#### Article 24

1. All objects, including means of transportation, intended for official use of a consulate, are freed from custom duties, as are objects intended for the official use of a diplomatic representation.

2. Consular officials and members of their families living together with them are freed from customs control, as are members of the diplomatic personnel of a diplomatic representation.

3. Consular officials, staff members of a consulate, as well as the members of their families living together with them, if they are not citizens of the state of residence or permanently residing in it, are freed from customs duties, as the corresponding categories of personnel of a diplomatic representation.

4. The term "corresponding categories of personnel of a diplomatic representation", in paragraph 3 of the present article, refers to members of the diplomatic personnel if consular officials are concerned, and to members of the technical-administrative personnel if staff members of a consulate are concerned.

#### Article 25

In the case of the death of a consular official, a staff member of a consulate, or a member of his family living together with him, the state of residence permits the export of the personal property of the deceased without payment of customs duties, as well as frees this property from taxes and collections for inheritance and the acquisition of property, if this property was located in the state of residence exclusively in connection with the stay of the deceased in this state as a consular official, staff member of a consulate, or member of his family.

The provisions of this article do not extend to the property acquired in the state of residence, the export of which is restricted or prohibited.



#### Article 26

Consular officials and staff members of a consulate are permitted to move freely within the boundaries of the consular district, with the exception of areas the entry into which is prohibited for reasons of state security.

#### Article 27

All persons who, in accordance with the present Convention, are granted privileges and immunities, are obligated, without prejudice to their privileges and immunities, to respect the laws and regulations of the state of residence, including the laws and rules regulating the movement of means of transportation and their insurance.

### PART IV

#### CONSULAR FUNCTIONS

#### Article 28

A consular official must promote the development and consolidation of friendly relations between the state being represented and the state of residence and further economic, trade, scientific and cultural relations among them.

#### Article 29

1. A consular official has the right to perform the functions indicated in the present part, as well as any other consular functions, if they do not contradict the legislation of the state of residence.

2. A consular official has the right to carry out his functions within the boundaries of the consular district. Beyond its boundaries, the consular official may carry out his functions only with the agreement of the authorities of the state of residence.

3. In connection with the execution of his functions, a consular official may address himself in writing or orally to the competent authorities of the consular district.

#### Article 30

A consular official has the right to defend the rights and interests of the state being represented, its citizens and legal entities.

#### Article 31

1. A consular official has the right:

a) To accept any statements and documents concerning questions of citizenship;

- b) to take stock of the citizens of the state being represented;
- c) to issue, renew, and annul passports, entry, exit and transit visa and other analogous documents, as well as to make changes in them;
- d) to register and obtain information and documents about the birth or death of citizens of the state being represented;
- e) if this does not contradict the legislation of the state of residence, to register marriages and their dissolution, on condition that both persons are citizens of the state being represented;
- f) to receive any statements concerning family relations of citizens of the state being represented;
- g) to collect, on the territory of the state of residence, a consular tax in accordance with the legislation and the regulations of the state being represented;
- h) to execute adoption, if this does not contradict the legislation of the state being represented.

2. The consular official communicates to the competent organs of the state of residence information about the registration of acts of civil status executed in the consulate in accordance with subparagraphs "d" and "e" of paragraph 1 of the present article, if this is required by local laws.

3. The provisions of subparagraphs "d" and "e" of paragraph 1 of the present article do not free the interested persons from their obligations to observe the formalities required by the legislation of the state of residence.

#### Article 32

1. A consular official has the right to take the following actions:

- a) To receive, compose and certify statements of citizens of the state being represented, as well as to issue appropriate documents to them;
- b) to compose, certify and receive for safekeeping the wills of citizens of the state being represented;
- c) to compose and certify acts and transactions between citizens of the state being represented in so far as such acts and transactions do not contradict the legislation of the state of residence and do not pertain to the establishment or transfer of rights to real estate;
- d) to compose or certify transactions between the citizens of the state being represented and citizens of the state of residence, if these transactions pertain exclusively to interests located on the territory of the state being represented, or are subject to execution on the territory of this state, on condition that these transactions do not contradict the legislation of the state of residence;
- e) to legalize documents issued by the authorities or officials of the state being represented or the state of residence, as well as to certify copies, translations and excerpts from these documents;
- f) to translate documents and to certify the correctness of the translation;
- g) to certify the signatures of citizens of the state being represented on any type of documents, if the content of these documents does not contradict the legislation of the state of residence;
- h) to receive for safekeeping property and documents from citizens of the state being represented or for these citizens, in so far as this does not contradict the legislation of the state of residence;

2. Documents composed, or certified, or translated by a consular official in accordance with paragraph 1 of the present article will be regarded in the state of residence as documents having the same juridical significance and demonstrative force as if they were composed, certified or translated by the competent authorities and institutions of the state of residence.

#### Article 33

1. The competent authorities of the state of residence, within the shortest possible time, inform the consular official about the death of a citizen of the state being represented and communicate to him information about inheritance property, about heirs, non-recipients, as well as about the presence of a will.

2. The competent authorities of the state of residence, within the shortest possible time, advise the consular official about the opening of an inheritance in the state of residence, when a citizen of the state being represented is an heir or a non-recipient. This applies also in cases when the competent authorities of the state of residence learn about the opening of an inheritance in favor of a citizen of the state being represented on the territory of a third state.

3. A consular official, if he is the first to learn about the death of a citizen of the state being represented or about the opening of an inheritance, in his turn, informs the competent authorities of the state of residence about this.

#### Article 34

1. If a citizen of the state being represented has a right or a claim to a share in the property left in the state of residence after the death of a person of any citizenship, and if he is not located in the state of residence and is not represented in any other way in this state, the consular official has the right to represent the interests of such a citizen as if the consular official had been given power of attorney by him. Such representation ceases from the moment when the consular official receives notification that the citizen in question is defending his interests in the state of residence either personally, or through an agent appointed in an appropriate manner.

2. If a citizen of the state being represented, who did not reside in the state of residence, died in this state during a period of temporary presence in it, the consular official has the right, in accordance with the legislation of the state being represented, to dispose of the money, documents, property and belongings of the deceased.

#### Article 35

A consular official may, on behalf of a citizen of the state being represented, if such a citizen is not located in the state of residence, receive from a court, from authorities or an individual person, money or other property which is due to this citizen as the result of the death of any person, including a share in an inheritance, the payment of compensation in accordance with legislation on accidents in production and sums due to him from life insurance.

The appropriate court, organ of authority or individual person may demand that the consular official implement conditions that may be prescribed in relation to:

- a) The presentation of power of attorney or other proxy from the corresponding citizen of the state being represented;
- b) the presentation of proof of the receipt of money or other property by the interested person;
- c) the return of money or other property in the case of the absence of such proof.

#### Article 36

1. A consular official has the right to propose, to courts or to other competent authorities of the state of residence, suitable persons as trustees or guardians for citizens of the state being represented or for property of such citizens when this property is left without supervision.

2. If the court or other competent authorities think that the proposed person is unacceptable for some reason, the consular official may propose a new candidature.

#### Article 37

1. A consular official has the right to meet and communicate with any citizen of the state being represented, to give him advice, and to provide any assistance, including the taking of measures to give him legal assistance.

The state of residence in no way restricts the communication of a citizen of the state being represented with the consulate and his access to the consulate.

2. The competent authorities of the state of residence immediately inform the consular official of the state being represented about the arrest or the detention, in any form, of a citizen of the state being represented.

3. A consular official has the right to visit and to communicate immediately with a citizen of the state being represented who is under arrest or is detained in any form, or who is serving a term of imprisonment.

The rights indicated in the present paragraph are implemented in accordance with the laws and regulations of the state of residence, on the condition, however, that the indicated laws and regulations must not annul these rights.

#### Article 38

1. A consular official has the right to extend any assistance and help to any vessel of the state being represented in the ports, territorial or inland waters of the state being represented.

2. A consular official may go aboard the vessel, and the captain and the members of the crew may communicate with the consular official, as soon as the vessel is allowed free communication with the shore.

3. A consular official may turn for assistance to the competent authorities of the state of residence with respect to any questions relating to the fulfillment of his functions in relation to the vessels of the state being represented, the captain and the members of the crews of these vessels.

#### Article 39

A consular official has the right:

- a) Without prejudice to the right of the authorities of the state of residence, to investigate any incidents that took place en route and during moorage of a vessel of the state being represented in ports, to question the captain and any member of the crew, to verify ship documents, to receive statements concerning the sailing of a vessel and its place of destination, as well as to assist with the entry, departure and stay of a vessel in port;
- b) without prejudice to the rights of the authorities of the state of residence, to resolve disputes of any kind between the captain and any member of the crew, including disputes over a hiring agreement and working conditions, in so far as this is provided for by the legislation of the state being represented;
- c) to take measures for the hospital treatment and the repatriation of the captain or any member of the crew of the vessel;
- d) to receive, compose or verify any declaration or other document provided for by the legislation of the state being represented in regard to vessels;
- e) to issue temporary certification of the right to sail under the flag of the state being represented for a vessel acquired or built.

#### Article 40

1. In the event that courts or other competent authorities of the state of residence intend to take any coercive actions or to begin any official investigation aboard a vessel of the state being represented, the competent authorities of the state of residence inform the consular official about this. Such notification is undertaken before the beginning of these actions in order for the consular official to be able to be present during the execution of such actions. If the consular official was not present, the competent authorities of the state of residence, upon his request, provide him with complete information with respect to what has taken place.

2. The provisions of paragraph 1 of the present article apply also in the event that the captain or any member of the crew of a vessel must be questioned ashore by the authorities of the state of residence.

3. The provisions of the present article do not apply, however, to ordinary passport, customs, and sanitary control, as well as to actions undertaken at the request or with the consent of the captain of a vessel.

#### Article 41

1. If a vessel of the state being represented suffers ship-wreck, runs aground, or is thrown ashore, or suffers any other kind of damage in the state of residence, or if any object constituting part of the cargo of a vessel that has suffered damage, being the property of a citizen of the state being represented, is found on the shore or close to the shore of the state of residence or is delivered to the port of this state, the competent authorities of the state of residence inform the consular official about this as soon as possible. They also inform the consular official about measures that have already been

taken to rescue people, a vessel, the cargo and other property aboard a vessel, and objects belonging to the vessel or constituting part of its cargo, which have become separated from the vessel.

2. A consular official may extend any assistance to a vessel that has suffered damage, to the members of its crew and to the passengers. To this end it may turn for assistance to the competent authorities of the state of residence.

A consular official may take the measures indicated in paragraph 1 of the present article, as well as measures for the repair of a vessel, or may turn to the competent authorities with a request to take or to continue to take such measures.

3. If the vessel of the state being represented that has suffered damage or any object belonging to such a vessel is found on the shore or close to the shore of the state of residence or delivered into a port of this state and neither the captain of the vessel, nor the owner, nor his agent, nor the corresponding insurers are in a position to take measures for the custody or disposal of such a vessel or object, the consular official is authorized to take such measures on behalf of the owner of the vessel as the owner himself could take for such purposes.

The provisions of the present paragraph are applied correspondingly to any object constituting part of the cargo of a vessel of the state being represented and constituting the property of a citizen of this state.

4. If any object constituting a part of the cargo of a vessel that has suffered damage of the state being represented or of a third state, which is the property of a citizen of the state being represented, is found on the shore or close to the shore of the state of residence or is delivered into a port of this state and neither the captain of the vessel, nor the owner of the object, nor his agent, nor the corresponding insurers are in a position to take measures for the custody or disposal of such an object, the consular official is authorized to take such measures on behalf of the owner as the owner himself could take for such purposes.

## Article 42

Articles 38-41 are applied correspondingly also to civilian aircraft.

## PART V

### CONCLUDING PROVISIONS

## Article 43

1. The present Convention is subject to ratification and becomes effective on the thirtieth day after the exchange of ratification documents, which will take place in Sanaa.

2. The present Convention will be in effect until the expiration of 6 months from the day on which one of the Contracting Parties in writing informs the other Contracting Party of its intention to terminate its operation.

In witness whereof the Plenipotentiaries of the Contracting Parties have signed the present Convention and authenticated it with their seals.

Executed in Moscow on 9 October 1984 in two copies, each in Russian and in

\*  
Arabic, both texts having identical force.

For the Union of Soviet  
Socialist Republics

A. Gromyko

For the Yemen Arab  
Republic

A. M. Al-Asbahi

\* \* \*

Ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 21 December 1984 and by the President of the Yemen Arab Republic, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, and General Secretary of the People's Constituent Assembly on 25 October 1984.

The exchange of ratification documents was carried out in Sanaa on 28 January 1985.

#### PROTOCOL

##### To The Consular Convention Between The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics And The Yemen Arab Republic

During the signing on this date of the Consular Convention between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Yemen Arab Republic, subsequently called the "Convention", the Plenipotentiaries of the Contracting Parties agreed to the following:

1. The notification of the consular official, provided for in paragraph 2 of Article 37 of the Convention, is carried out within 3 days from the time of the arrest or detainment, in any form, of the citizen of the state being represented.

2. The rights of the consular official, mentioned in paragraph 3 of Article 37 of the Convention, to visit and to communicate with a citizen of the state being represented, when he is under arrest or detained in any form, are granted within 7 days from the time of his arrest or detainment.

3. The rights of the consular official, indicated in paragraph 3 of Article 37 of the Convention, to visit and to communicate with a citizen of the state being represented, when he is under arrest or is detained in any form, or when he serves a term of imprisonment, are granted on a periodic basis.

The present Protocol is an integral part of the Convention.

In witness whereof the Plenipotentiaries of the Contracting Parties have signed the present Protocol and authenticated it with their seals.

Executed in Moscow on 9 October 1984 in two copies, each in Russian and in Arabic, both texts having identical force.

For the Union of Soviet  
Socialist Republics

A. Gromyko

For the Yemen Arab  
Republic

A. M. Al-Asbahi

8970

CSO: 1807/431

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

MEDVEDKO BOOK ON NEAR EAST REVIEWED

PM281026 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 85 First Edition p 4

[Book review by A. Stepanov: "Still No End in Sight"]

[Text] The events and processes which have occurred in the Near East over the past decades and which, it would seem, ought to have receded into history, can in no way coagulate in the red hot lava ejected by the Near East volcano. This is the fact which determined the choice of the genre of documentary narrative--as Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Medveko writes in the epilogue to his recently published monograph "...The Near East in Turmoil" (L. I. Medvedko, "...The Near East in Turmoil" ["...Etot blizhniy burlyashchiy vostok"], Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1985, 335 pages).

In actual fact, the book is based on rich factual material--declassified documents of other countries' diplomatic departments, memoirs by foreign statesmen and military figures, eyewitness accounts of events, opinions and assessments by specialists, and--finally--the author's own observations during his years of work as a journalist in the Near East.

The book reveals step by step the machinery of the U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance aimed against the Arab liberation movement, traces the fundamental stages of the Near East conflict, and describes the subversive activity conducted for years on end by U.S. imperialist circles and their Zionist accomplices against the forces of democracy and social progress.

The author's retrospective view makes it possible to bring to light the basic trends of sociopolitical development in the region. This is precisely why the "Pax Americana" which has been prepared for the Near East appears in the book in its entire unseemly reactionary essence. The book warns against the danger of imposing such a settlement on the region but is at the same time imbued with optimism and faith in the Near East peoples' revolutionary and anti-imperialist potential.

The book's attributes include not only its documentary nature, accuracy, and class sharpness of analysis, but also the absorbing nature of its presentation.

CSO: 1807/493



MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

BRIEFS

WORK OF IRRIGATION COMPLEX DESCRIBED--Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian for 4 September 1985 carries on page 3 a 1,600-word article by special correspondent V. Izgarshev entitled "The Grain of Nangarhar." The article describes the Jalalabad Irrigation Complex, the largest state agricultural enterprise, built with the help of the Soviet Union. Currently four farms make up the complex. "Measured by Soviet standards it is far from gigantic," the author writes, "but by Afghan standards it is very imposing. The fact is that with the example of the country's first state farms the PDPA convincingly shows to all the people that large-scale agricultural production can be successfully carried out without landowners or latifundists." Many Soviet specialists work at the complex as agronomists, engineers, and other specialists. In addition to wheat, barley, and livestock the complex produces olives and citrus fruits and has its own processing plant. "But it is not easy in the Nangarhar Valley," Izgarshev states. "Not only because of the weather. It cannot be forgotten that the province borders on Pakistan. More than once dushman bands from there tried to disrupt the peaceful labor of the complex... But the workers of the Jalalabad Irrigation Complex are in the vanguard of those who are devoting all their strength to the continued growth of the republic's food production potential." [Editorial Report]

CSO: 1807/492

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

U.S. PLANS TO USE SOMALIA TO DUMP RADIOACTIVE WASTE

LD101625 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 10 Sep 85

[Report by TASS correspondent Yuriy Gerasimov]

[Text] Nairobi September 10 TASS---TASS correspondent Yuriy Gerasimov reports:

The United States intends to convert Somalian territory into dumping grounds for radioactive waste of the U.S. nuclear industry, the newspaper KENYA TIMES reports with reference to the radio station of Somali rebels.

An accord on this score has been reached during secret talks between President Siad Barre of Somalia and U.S. Administration officials. Washington paid Mogadishu 600 million dollars for the right to use Mudugh and Hiran areas bordering on Ethiopia for dumping waste, the KENYA TIMES writes.

Reports about U.S. adventuristic plans gave rise to deep alarm among the Kenyan public. The dumping of radioactive substances will pose a grave threat to the environment and the population of Somalia and, moreover, of neighbouring countries, above all Ethiopia and Kenya, said S. Njuguna, a well-known scientist who works at Kenyatta University College. The scientist and his colleagues have come up with an initiative to set up the movement against the pollution of Africa and have urged the Organisation of African Unity and the African governments to prevent the use of the territory of Africa and its coastal waters for dumping radioactive waste.

CSO: 1812/346

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

ETHIOPIAN FAMINE, WAR DESCRIBED; SOVIET AID HIGHLIGHTED

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jun, 6 Jul 85

[Article by Captian 3rd Class V. Kocherov, special correspondent of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, under the rubric "Travel Notes: Ethiopia: A Time of Trials"]

[29 Jun 85 p 5]

[Text] Hunger brought about by a most cruel drought and the struggle with the counter-revolutionary rabble are difficult trials which have befallen Socialist Ethiopia. Our correspondent, who was recently in Ethiopia, tells about measures [being taken] in the struggle with hunger and about the growing resistance of the Revolutionary Armed Forces to the intrigues of the reaction.

1. The Aid of Friends

By seven o'clock in the morning, we are arriving at the airport of Addis Ababa with (Lieutenant Ashenafi Zhima), the correspondent of the central organ of the Ethiopian RVS [Revolutionary Armed Forces] newspaper TATEK (TAKE UP ARMS). A flight to the North of the country, to Asmara, lies ahead.

Despite the early hour, a sultry mirage is already flickering in the air. Here, in the capital, the rising of the sun is indiscernible; there are mountains. Having barely appeared over them, the sun there is sweeping away the remnants of the night's coolness.

In recent years Africa's sun has dried up the rich, fertile lands of many countries of this hot continent. Rivers and lakes have dried out. Out of Socialist Ethiopia's population of 40 million, more than 7 million persons have suffered from the drought, especially in the provinces of Vollo Tigray and Eritrea. Starvation has taken away thousands of lives.

Responding to a call for help, the USSR has sent thousands of tons of foodstuffs and medicines to Ethiopia, and more than 300 trucks, 24 helicopters and 12 An-12 airplanes for their transport. They are working here this very day.

In Addis Ababa I became acquainted with the crew commander of a Mi-8 helicopter, Vladimir Sivachev from the Urals. We met after his return from a flight to one of the mountainous regions of the country. "We flew into Addis Ababa in November of last year," Vladimir recalls. "During the night we gathered vehicles, and the work was begun in the morning. We delivered grain and food products to the disaster areas, and on the return people. In our arms we carried children who had been weakened by hunger to the vehicles. It happened that people who were in the last stage of exhaustion fell into a hunger faint at the sight of a package of biscuits. Of course, we opened up our rations that we had on board and shared what we could...."

I will meet the hungry children of Ethiopia again on the roads of the North. I will see their supplicant eyes and outstretched little hands: a lump will rise in my throat, my breathing will be constricted, and someone else's pain will echo with my pain in my heart. And then I will understand the feelings of Sivachev, of his helicopter pilot friends Yuriy Fedorov, Viktor Astankov, Sergey Mozgoviy, and of all the Soviet people who have found themselves in the epicenter of this human tragedy. Having seen in reality the dimensions of the disaster, they have demonstrated internationalism in deed to the Ethiopian people: the ability to share a piece of bread, to support the weak, not to spare oneself for the sake of one's neighbor. Soviet transport planes have already evacuated about half a million persons from the disaster areas.

...I watch how Ethiopian loaders, stooping under the weight of sacks with wheat, hastily disappear in the doorway of the An-12 on which we will fly. Alongside the loading there are still two Soviet "Antonov's", as the Ethiopians respectfully call these tireless airline workers.

Beyond the loading, the pilots observe an American C-130 from a distance. Not far off an airplane of the English BBC has cooled. I see how a "Luftwaffe" airplane with a cross on the fuselage is running along the runway. Alongside the military heraldry is the inscription "Mercy Flight".

Mercy: sympathy, compassion and a desire to help. That is how Russian dictionaries define this word. But how can one talk about any kind of compassion on the part of the pilots of NATO countries if they have refused to transport people from disaster areas. But on the other hand, we will recall how an organized action was carried out on such airplanes operationally and on calculated days by Zionist circles for the transfer across Sudan to Israel of tens of thousands of Ethiopian Falashas of the Jewish religion.

But how are things going with this same aid? Judging by articles in the American press, not one other country of the world is helping Ethiopia more today than the United States. How is this so?

As early as 1982, when the first signs of the recurrent drought appeared (and it has accompanied the life of the Ethiopians for the space of

cargoes are delivered to the country. I see a long chain of trucks on the winding strip of asphalt. The Soviet truck convoy has gone out on the usual run.

The other day we were witnesses of the return of this truck convoy from the province of (Uollega). We saw it about 50 kilometers from Addis Ababa. The ZIL's travelled one after another, covered with dust and with lit headlights. With what respect the usually calm Ethiopians yielded the way for it on the highways, unnecessarily keeping curious children a little further off from the travelling unit! Having turned to me, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper TATEK, (Lieutenant Colonel Assefa Kebede), with whom we were travelling in the vehicle, said; "This truck convoy is held in great respect by the people. The drivers have the highest discipline and they are very good to the people. The fame about your drivers always precedes their vehicles."

Who, then, drove these vehicles? Perhaps Aleksandr Selin from the Volgograd Oblast, Andrey Nerovnyy from Stavropol, Vladimir Shevchenko from Krasnodar, or Vitaliy Vinokurov from Kievshchina? Aleksandr Tatravev, Vasiliy Davydov, Aleksandr Starikevich, Valeriy Chizhov and many others drove vehicles with them. All of them are professionals of the highest order. Together with Soviet aviators, they are carrying out three-fourths of the transports of foodstuffs in the country.

This is what the chief of the truck convoy, Ivan Ivanovich Tashkin, told me about the work of the drivers.

"On 16 November of last year, they unloaded us and equipment from a ship in Assab. And early in the morning on the 19th, we had already left with the grain for Addis Ababa. The first run lasted for four 24-hour periods, and the last ones--already to other regions--for 10-12. The roads here are difficult, and there are mountain passes of up to 3,600 meters. Sometimes the helicopters fly lower...."

Now these roads are far below us. While we are flying over flat places, the land of Ethiopia reminds one of a scrappy blanket in an endless alternation of strips of earth ploughed up and greening with shoots. Surprisingly there are fertile lands in the central and southern regions of the country. In favorable times two harvests a year are produced on them. Only now the cultivation of this land in many farms is still being conducted with antediluvian labor implements.

But changes have already affected the country's agriculture. In the South in the province of (Kefa)--in the coffee country--I had the occasion to chat with the manager of one of the collective farms. (Nasyr Abafita) said that there are no tractors now in their farm. And the cooperative itself is very small--28 persons in all. "But we have the main thing," he said, "land, cattle, and we have work and faith in tomorrow."

"There are 50 farms in our peasant association," add the secretary of the association, (Terfa Ayele), who was present during the conversation. "There is equipment in the majority of them. There are small successes. If the government allotted us about half a million birr of subsidies during the organization period of the cooperatives, then today we already have about 6 million birr of our own income."

On the whole in the country, more than one-and-a-half thousand agricultural cooperatives have been created. More than 330,000 persons are working in them. The first tractors have arrived in the farms from (Nazret), where a tractor assembly plant has been built with the aid of the USSR. Soviet specialists are helping in the building of an MTS [Machine and Tractor Service Station]. Rigs for drilling artesian wells, which have been received from the Soviet Union, are already in operation in the drought-ridden regions. This is only the beginning. "We should join our forces in order to protect agriculture against the consequences of natural disasters, to expand the fields of irrigated cultivation, and to increase the volume of production by means of the construction of dams, of the diversion of rivers and of the collection of precipitation in reservoirs," noted comrade Mengistu Haile-Mariam last year at the constituent congress of the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia. This work has already been begun. It is being conducted with the active participation of Soviet specialists.

After just over an hour, we are landing at the airport of Asmara. They are already waiting for the airplane. They are waiting, hurrying to unload it and to send the invaluable cargo more quickly along the mountainous and, alas, already unsafe military roads. But the next story is about that.

[6 Jul 85 p 5]

[Text]

## 2. From Asmara to Massawa

Having placed a pistol in the back pocket of his trousers, and a submachine gun alongside the seat, the driver of our (uazik), Sergeant Major (Ayaleu Makuriya) gave us a glance to say he was ready to go. Our furthest journey lay from Asmara to Massawa, a port on the Red Sea.

Travelling along the streets of Asmara--the chief city of the northern province of Eritrea--and admiring the modern buildings and the splendid palm trees along the road, one involuntarily notices something else: sacks with sand outside houses, guards at the entrance to government institutions, and patrol cars with armed soldiers. Asmara is a front-line city, and the mountain road to Massawa passes through the region of the combat operations with the separatists.

Centuries, the government appealed for help to the world community. Ethiopia's request was met quite indifferently in the West. Only at the end of October of last year did the White House express a willingness to help Ethiopia. But before changing from words into deed, the Reagan administration, according to tradition, decided "to establish order" in someone else's house, having demanded from the government of Ethiopia the right to direct by itself the distribution of American foodstuffs, in particular in the areas where counter-revolutionary gangs are active.

That is why the inscription about mercy on the NATO military airplanes is nothing more than an advertisement. True mercy does not need an advertisement. "Today more than ever before we have learned to value sincere good-heartedness and friendship," says (Lieutenant Ashenafi).

We are taking off into a sultry sky. The crew commander, Igor Zaytsev, is a native of the city of Ivanovo. Vladimir Romantsov, Viktor Sokol and Vladimir Grening are next to him. The crew has flown more than 300 hours in the sky of Ethiopia, and has transported about 1,000 tons of cargo and more than 11,000 emigrants. The crew is a team. "If you will write about us, first name the leaders [peredoviki] of the (tactical subunit)--the crews of Leonid Novozhilov, of Gumer Zakirov and others," Igor requests. "Today many are compared to them. We are in their number."

I had the occasion to fly here with another crew, that of Petr Vorobyev. And there, getting ready for the flight, I heard the same wish--to talk about comrades. A chance sentence of one of the pilots explained everything: "During the time of working in Ethiopia," he said, "we became close as brothers."

It must be added that it is difficult work. However, the majority of them do not get accustomed to the difficulties. Igor Zaytsev's crew, for example, has already had the occasion to work abroad. The pilots delivered products and medicines to the people of Afghanistan. They worked in the sky of Mozambique for almost half a year.

The Zaytsev family, as they say, is a flying one. Igor's father is now a colonel of the reserve, and during the years of the Great Patriotic War he delivered various cargoes to the front. His oldest brother, Major Aleksandr Zaytsev, is serving in military transport aviation. He is a holder of the Red Star Order. The story about why he was awarded this decoration was related in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. By rights of being the eldest, Aleksandr quite often admonishes Igor in letters. Behind his counsels there is kind concern about his brother. And his wife, Marina, she writes more about their daughters. Especially about the youngest [daughter], Polechka, whom Igor knows only by a photograph.

...I watch how (Ashenafi) has clung to the porthole. I join him. The building of the airport flashed on the left, and houses and trees sink, decreasing in sizes. After about five minutes of the flight we are crossing the road to Assab, the port on the Red Sea, from which Soviet

Having declared themselves "liberation fronts", the counter-revolutionary groups are extending beyond the division of the area of Ethiopian territory and are aiming at a revival of feudal orders. The government of Ethiopia, not rejecting the ideas of becoming autonomous, has offered many times to solve the vexed questions in a peaceful manner. But, in answer, the separatists have expanded the campaign of terror and force.

Units of the RVS operating here in Eritrea are pressing the gangs further and further to the North, driving them off to the mountains and depriving them of bases and of support from without. "If there were not support of the counter-revolutionary forces by the United States, by other capitalist countries, and also by Somali, the war problem in the country would not be so severe," says Colonel (Gyrma Ayele), a member of the Central Committee of the Working People of Ethiopia, a member of the PMAC [Provisional Military Administrative Council], and chief of the section for organizational-party work of the Chief Political Administration of the Ethiopian RVS. "The war is taking away much energy from the people. But we will lead it to a victorious end. The people have already felt the advantages of socialism. The Party of the Working People has been created in the country. We are experiencing the complete support of socialist countries under the leadership of the USSR."

The history of Russia's and Ethiopia's relations goes back to the distant past. But especially active ties between the states began to be established in the 19th century during the Italian aggression in Ethiopia. The sympathies of progressive Russian public opinion were on the side of the people who were fighting for their independence. During those days L. N. Tolstoy angrily denounced the criminal actions of the Italian government in his article "To the Italians".

The support of Ethiopia by Russia was accomplished not only in theory. Experienced Russian officers, who aided in the conduct of operations and in the training of Ethiopian soldiers in military affairs, were in the army of Menelik II which was fighting with the aggressor. In 1896, a collection of resources for rendering medical aid to Ethiopian soldiers was conducted on the initiative of the public in Russia. A medical group of the Russian Society of the Red Cross was sent to Ethiopia. Having opened up medical courses for the Ethiopians, the group in fact had begun a health service for the population of the country. This tradition is now being continued. The Soviet Red Cross hospital in Addis Ababa, in which our doctors have already been working for the space of 38 years, is rendering great aid to the public health of Ethiopia. The medical personnel of the Soviet field hospital in (Asos) is solving the same problem. More than 58,000 persons have already received necessary medical care here in short periods of time. Soviet doctors are also working today in military hospitals.

On the eve of the trip to Massawa, I visited one of them. An Ethiopian soldier who had been blown up on a mine was delivered from the front. When the surgeon Anatoliy Antonovich Barchuk and I arrived at the hospital, the soldier was already in the operating room. A quick examination of the wounds and a brief exchange of opinions with his colleagues, and Barchuk



begins the operation which lasts about two hours. Together with the Ethiopian surgeon Colonel (Tadesoy Melka), Anatoliy Antonovich carries out more than a hundred operations monthly.

...Along the road to Massawa, side by side with the travelling unit, one white cross suddenly flashed, another behind it, and a third one.... "What is that?" I asked my colleague and translator (Lieutenant Abhenafi Zhima). "Communal graves," he answered.

There have been communal graves in Ethiopia since the times of fascist Italy's aggression in 1935. During that difficult time for the Ethiopian people, only the Soviet Union came to its defense. "The Russians...are a noble people," the Ethiopian newspaper EFIOPIAN GERALD noted in July of 1944, "they are true friends. Our country remembers that despite the absence of official relations between Ethiopia and the USSR, the latter did not hesitate to come to the defense of the interests of Ethiopia in the League of Nations."

Ethiopia remembers. This memory lives in the people, imparting power to it in the struggle for the ideals of the revolution. Here, on the northern front, I talked with commanders and political workers and with rank and file fighters. They know a lot about our country and relate to its history with respect. I remember the company commander, Sergeant Major (Abebau Dedzhene) and the chief of the political section of the division, Captain (Siraka Vorkunekh Telakhuna), who had recently returned from the Soviet Union, who told me about how they are training their (Aleksandr Matrosov's), as they have designated the names of the first national heroes of Socialist Ethiopia. The face of Private (Milon Abeba)--Million of Flowers [Million tsvetov]7--as his name sounds in Russian, is still in front of my eyes.

When I told Milon that we have a song called "A Million Scarlet Roses", he smiled. And this bashful smile only emphasized his age more sharply. If we met Milon somewhere in a part of Addis Ababa and he was not in a military uniform, I would certainly be interested in his progress at school.

But I knew that Milon had only just come from the front and, despite his 19 years, he is a deputy political officer of a company.

"When did you manage to become a political worker?"

"I was 15 years old when I decided to enter the army, and in order not to be refused because of my age, I added on three years."

"During the Great Patriotic War, Soviet youths also left for the front before their time."

"We are studying your history. We know how difficult it was for you during the first years after the revolution, and we know about the aid which you rendered to the peoples of Ethiopia after World War II. We will never forget your aid to our country...."

"When the war ends, will you remain in the army?"

"While my country is in danger, I cannot have personal plans...."

Ethiopia remembers. A monument to Lenin is being erected in a square in the center of Addis Ababa, the first and still the only one in Africa. One invariably encounters a stand with a biography of the leader in every Lenin Room in military barracks. Lenin's works are helping to build a new life and to train ideologically hardened defenders of the homeland. Marxism-Leninism is the basis for political studies among the troops.

The driver of our (uazik), Sergeant Major (Ayaleu Makuriya), is a man of few words, and I confess that he had confused me very much along the road when a conversation turned on our country, and I asked him if he knew about Lenin. The sergeant major somehow had looked at me strangely and had answered slowly; "That is not a question." Thinking that (Ayaleu) had simply not understood me, I glanced at the translator, intending to repeat my question, when suddenly I glimpsed a wide smile on the face of Lieutenant (Ashenafi). "Ayaleu is saying that he could name many works of Lenin which he happened to read in his political studies," he explained.

The organization of political study in the Ethiopian RVS reminds me a lot of ours, but there are differences. The chief of the political administration of ground troops, Major (Gebregeorgis Kasu), said that besides political studies and political reports, discussion clubs are being established increasingly among the troops where civilian youth are being invited for a joint discussion of problems of internal and international life.

"Today the liquidation of illiteracy in the army and the creation of primary party organizations in each unit is furthering the successful conduct of political studies. The members of the RPE / Party of the Working People / are the first assistants of commanders and of political workers," says Major (Gebregeorgis).

...The hairpin turn of the highway slowly untwisted, descending from the mountains. The earth literally smoothed out its wrinkles. The closer we came to the sea, the hotter it became. The cactus thickets on the slopes of the mountains, which look like forests from the airplane, gradually revealed the scorching rock faces. In mountainous Asmara, where the weather may be matched to that of Moscow, rain poured down daily after dinner as if according to a timetable. Judging by the dried up earth, there had been no

rains for a long time in the desert plain. There were dried-up beds of what had once been large rivers and craters of evaporated lakes.... It is difficult for the local inhabitants to be here on the hot plain, and it is a hard service for the soldiers who control the road.

The army of Ethiopia; the country needs it today just as the starving people need bread. There will be an army, and there will be bread. The Party of the Working People of Ethiopia and the government of the country are devoting serious attention to the training of military cadres and to the provision of the army with the most modern equipment. And it is here that the socialist countries are rendering essential aid to Ethiopia. Many Ethiopian citizens are being taught in the military schools and in the academies of the Soviet Union. An example of this is my travelling companion, Lieutenant (Ashenafi Zhima). He is a graduate of the journalism department of the Lvov Higher Military-Political School.

Since last year, a law on universal military service has been in effect in the country. Not only youths but men who, as they say, have already passed out of the call-up age, are trying to become soldiers of the revolution and to defend it with weapons in hand. For example, there is an age difference of 12 years among the students of the "Tatek-2" educational center. The educational qualification of men called up for military service also varies from 1 to 12 classes. Representatives of 45 nationalities are undergoing training here. The students speak in 57 languages.

"In what manner are you solving the problems of communication?" I asked the chief of the political section of the educational center, Captain (Ayaleu Abebu).

"We do not have such problems," answered the captain.

We spent 24 hours in the educational center. Goodhearted by nature, the Ethiopian troops are exceptionally attentive to each other. They find a common language easily in the classes, in the reading-room and during jobs in the kitchen housekeeping.

Apropos the farm. We examined a large nursery of tropical species of trees here (many forests in the country have suffered from the drought), a stock-rearing farm in which more than 10 kg of butter are produced daily, and a pig farm where 850 pigs are maintained for fattening. We visited a poultry farm that had 3,000 hens and roosters. At an apiary (200 beehives) they treated us with (flower honey), which in its taste is not inferior to our Bashkirian honey. At the same time, 1,500 hectares of land here have been employed for grain and corn.

"How ever are you managing to direct such an economy?" I asked Captain (Ayaleu).

"It is necessary to manage it," he answered, "especially now when there is hunger in the country...."

We are driving up to the final post on the road to Massawa. Under the scorching sun there are two soldiers by a cabin made of thin branches. Having caught sight of the vehicle, they are tidying their uniform and saluting.

The coast of the Red Sea is covering us with an oven-like heat. Coolness is not even felt alongside the water. I see houses which have been destroyed by the counter-revolutionaries. Along the road which separates the enormous salt lakes, we drive to an Ethiopian naval base. And finally there are moorings there. And there are battleships at the moorings.

We had barely stepped onto the deck of a missile boat as it sounded a combat training alert signal. An instant and the sailors are at the battle posts. They are acting confidently and orderly.

The assistant commander, (Second Lieutenant Mengistu Alimayyu), is at the missile firing control, and the commander, (Lieutenant Eynatau Symena), is alongside. Introducing myself to them, I was interested in why they chose the professions of military sailors, since not one of these sailors was not from a peasant family. "We dreamed about it," said the officers. I recalled how the pilot of a MIG-21 from an airfield at the front, (Lieutenant Abonekh Negash), explained the choice of his profession to me in the same way....

Here, in the conning tower of the boat, which had been manufactured for the "infliction" of a missile assault, I thought about how a revolution ennobles people, entrusting government affairs and a formidable military technology to the peasants and workers of tomorrow, and affording all the opportunities for the incarnation of a dream into reality.

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CSO: 1807/397

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

DECREE ON TRADE AGREEMENT WITH KENYA

Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR in Russian No 5-6, 1985

[Decree on Trade Agreement Between the USSR Government and the Government of the Republic of Kenya]

[Text] The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the government of the Republic of Kenya, seeking to strengthen and develop trade relations between both countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, have agreed to the following:

Article 1

1. The Contracting Parties give each other the status of most favored nations on all questions relating to their mutual trade relations and navigation.
2. The competent organs of both countries will issue import and export licenses as long as such licenses are required or will be necessary in the future in accordance with the laws and regulations in effect in each of the countries. The licenses will be issued under conditions no less favorable than those by which they are issued to any third country.
3. The directives of the preceding paragraphs of this article will not, however, extend to advantages:
  - a) which one of the Contracting Parties has granted or may grant to neighboring countries for the purposes of facilitating border trade;
  - b) which stem from a customs union or free trade zone, in which each of the Contracting Parties is or may in the future become a member.

Article 2

1. Both Contracting Parties will, within the framework of their laws and regulations, facilitate and aid in the broadest possible development of trade between the two countries. The object of import and export according to this Agreement may be any goods agreed upon by Soviet foreign trade organizations and Kenyan representatives and trade enterprises.

2. Both Contracting Parties will take measures to see that trade between both countries is conducted on the basis of the principle of reasonably balanced trade.

### Article 3

Import and export of goods within the framework of this Agreement will be implemented in accordance with the domestic laws and regulations in effect in the USSR and Kenya in regard to import, export and currency control, and on the basis of contracts concluded between Soviet foreign trade organizations on the one hand and Kenyan representatives and trade enterprises on the other.

### Article 4

For purposes of this Agreement, goods originating in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be viewed as Soviet goods, while goods originating in the Republic of Kenya--as Kenyan goods.

The country of origin of goods will be considered the country where the goods were produced or manufactured, or where they underwent final significant processing, or in the case of unprocessed agricultural products--the country where the goods were actually produced. Both Contracting Parties retain the right to demand a certificate of origin on the import of certain goods from the organization empowered for this by the government of the country of origin.

### Article 5

The Contracting Parties have agreed that all payments between the USSR and Kenya stemming from this Agreement will be made in freely converted currency.

### Article 6

Current prices will be established for goods which are the object of trade within the framework of this Agreement, based on the primary world markets for such goods.

For those goods on which such a price cannot be established, competitive prices for analogous goods of similar quality will be used.

### Article 7

Goods originating from the territory of one of the Contracting Parties and imported to the territory of the other Contracting Party may be re-exported to a third country without prior approval of the competent authorities of that Contracting Party on whose territory such goods were obtained. Each of the Contracting Parties may, however, refuse to grant approval for re-export on any individual goods or may permit the re-export of such goods provided conditions which it sets are met.

### Article 8

Each Contracting Party will provide, in accordance with its effective laws and regulations, free transit through the territory of its country along routes which are most convenient for international transit for goods going to or from the territory of the other Contracting Party under conditions no less favorable than those which are given to any third country.

Goods from each of the two countries, after their transit through the territory of one or more third countries, will upon entry into the territory of the other country not be levied with higher duties or tariffs than those which are levied upon direct entry from the territory of such a country.

The decrees of the preceding paragraph of this article will also apply to goods which during their transport through the territory of a third country are subject to re-loading, re-packing or warehousing.

#### Article 9

Each of the Contracting Parties will encourage participation in trade fairs and exhibits organized on the territory of the other Contracting Party.

#### Article 10

The Contracting Parties grant each other the status of most favored nation in all questions relating to the entry of goods samples and advertised materials brought in from the territory of the other Contracting Party. Goods samples and advertised materials, upon entry from the territory of either of the Contracting Parties to the territory of the other Contracting Party, will be free of duties and tariffs in accordance with the laws and regulations in effect in the said country.

In accordance with the domestic laws and regulations in effect in each of the countries, each of the Contracting Parties grants the status of most favored nation in regard to freeing from payment of duties and tariffs goods from the other Contracting Party which are temporarily imported or brought onto its territory and which are subsequently taken out of its territory:

- a) goods intended for testing and experiments;
- b) goods intended for exhibitions, competitions and fairs;
- c) instruments which will be used by installers in the installation and assembly of equipment;
- d) goods for processing or repair and materials necessary for processing or repair;
- e) containers with exported or imported goods.

#### Article 11

Trade vessels from both of the two countries containing cargo will enjoy the status of most favored nations in relation to conditions presented to vessels from any third country while they are entering, remaining and leaving the ports of the other country.

#### Article 12

The Contracting Parties will consult with each other at the request of either Contracting Party in regard to measures directed at expanding mutual trade-economic relations, as well as in resolving questions relating to the implementation of this Agreement.

#### Article 13

The signature of this Agreement terminates the application of the Trade Agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Kenya dated 29 April 1964.

#### Article 14

Upon expiration of the effective period of this Agreement, its decrees shall be applicable to all contracts concluded during the period for which it was in effect and not fulfilled at the moment of expiration of the effective period of the Agreement.

#### Article 15

1. This Agreement is subject to approval in accordance with the constitutional procedure of each of the Contracting Parties and will go into effect on the day of exchange of notes confirming such ratification of the Agreement.
2. The Agreement will remain in effect for a period of 2 years, beginning with the day from which it goes into effect. After this period, it will remain in effect for up to a 6 month period from the day when one of the Contracting Parties receives a written notice from the other Contracting Party stating its intent to terminate this Agreement.
3. The Contracting Parties agree, however, that the decrees in this Agreement will be temporarily in force from the day of its signature.

As a certification of this, the authorized representatives of both Contracting Parties signed this Agreement and affixed their seals.

Concluded in Nairobi on 8 July 1983 in duplicate, each copy in Russian and in English, with both texts having identical force.

By Authority of  
The Government of the Union of  
Soviet Socialist Republics

G. Zhuravlev

By Authority of  
The Government of the  
Republic of Kenya

D. Okvano

12322

CSO: 1825/98



SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

USSR-MOZAMBIQUE PROTOCOL ON SCIENTIFIC-CULTURAL COOPERATION

Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SOYUZA SOVETSKIKH  
SOTSIALISTICHESKIKH RESPUBLIK (OTDEL VTOROY) in Russian No 7, 1985 pp 88-96

[Text] Protocol Governing Cultural and Scientific Cooperation Between the  
USSR and the People's Republic of Mozambique in 1985-1986

In accordance with the agreement between the USSR Government and the government  
of the People's Republic of Mozambique on cultural and scientific cooperation  
signed in Moscow on 19 May 1976, the contracting parties have agreed to  
implement in 1985-1986 the following program of cultural and scientific  
exchange:

Article 1

The Soviet Union will receive Mozambican citizens for studies and practical  
experience in the USSR in accordance with the protocol governing the training  
of Mozambican personnel in USSR educational institutions in the period 1983-  
1987 which was signed on 2 June 1983 in Maputo.

Article 2

The Soviet Union will annually send representatives of the USSR Ministry of  
Higher and Secondary Specialized Education for a period of up to 8 days for  
advisory assistance to the Mozambican side in the selection of graduating  
students for studies in the USSR.

Article 3

The Soviet Union will annually make available up to 10 scholarships for  
Mozambican citizen-graduates of Soviet higher educational institutions for  
the purpose of their improving their qualifications. The specialties and  
terms of their industrial training are to be agreed between the sides.

Article 4

The Soviet side will send and the Mozambican side will accept 10 Soviet students,  
graduate students and lecturers annually for scientific and language training  
in the E. Mondlane University.

#### Article 5

The Soviet side (USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education) will accept in 1985 for a 14-day term a three-four person delegation of the Mozambican Ministry of Education and the E. Mondlane University for familiarization with the system of higher and secondary specialized education in the USSR.

#### Article 6

The Soviet side (USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education) will continue in 1985-1986 the dispatch of lecturers (on contract) for work in the E. Mondlane University. The number and specialities of the said lecturers are to be agreed between the corresponding ministries.

#### Article 7

The sides will contribute to the further expansion of cooperation between the University of Friendship of the Peoples imeni P. Lumumba and the E. Mondlane University by way of the mutual exchange of lecturers, trainees, graduate students and also scientific documents and information and will sign for this purpose a corresponding agreement.

#### Article 8

The sides will promote the study of Russian in Mozambique and for this purpose:

1. The Soviet side will at the request of the Mozambican side assist in the drawing up of curricula and study programs for teaching Russian to Mozambican students in Mozambique and will annually send to support the teaching process textbooks and teaching aids in Russian.
2. The Soviet side will annually accept for training for a term of up to 10 months 10 Mozambican students studying Russian and also up to 5 Mozambican lecturers of Russian or students studying Russian for participation in a seminar of lecturers in Russian of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

#### Article 9

The Soviet side (USSR Ministry of Education) will in 1985-1986 continue to send educationists and methods teachers to work (on contract) in Mozambican high schools, in the Higher Teacher-Training Institute and in the National Development Institute.

#### Article 10

The Soviet side (USSR Ministry of Education) will in 1985-1986 render the Mozambican side methods assistance in the creation of model high schools and the preparation of study programs and school textbooks.

#### Article 11

The Soviet side (USSR Ministry of Education) will in 1985-1986 continue to send advisers to work (on contract) in the Mozambican Ministry of Education and provincial education departments.

#### Article 12

The Soviet side (USSR Ministry of Education) will continue to accept annually up to 10 Mozambican general educational school directors for monthly improvement courses in school leadership and administration.

#### Article 13

The Mozambican side (Mozambican Ministry of Education) will receive in 1986 for a period of up to 14 days, a three-person delegation of the USSR Ministry of Education to study the state and prospects of cooperation.

#### Article 14

In the period that this protocol is in effect the sides will continue the exchange of school curricula, study programs and teaching and methods literature.

#### Article 15

The Soviet side (USSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education) will continue for the period that this protocol is in effect to send specialists to work (on contract) in the Mozambican system of vocational-technical education.

#### Article 16

The Soviet side (USSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education) will annually accept for a 2-month term up to 10 leaders of Mozambican vocational-technical education establishments for improvement courses.

#### Article 17

The sides have agreed to study the possibility of an exchange of three-person delegations in 1985 for a 12-day term in the sphere of vocational-technical education to strengthen relations between the corresponding educational institutions of the USSR and Mozambique and exchange information on the organization of the training in both countries of skilled workers.

#### Article 18

The Soviet side (USSR State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education) will continue in the period that this protocol is in effect to send methods specialists and advisers to work (on contract) in the Mozambican State Secretariat for Vocational-Technical Education.

#### Article 19

The USSR Academy of Sciences and Mozambican scientific establishments will in the period that this protocol is in effect exchange one-two scientists per side for the purpose of delivering lectures and performing scientific work on subject matter to be agreed.

#### Article 20

The Soviet side (USSR Ministry of Health) will continue to send Soviet medical specialists to work in Mozambican medical establishments and educational institutions and assist Mozambique in combating malaria in accordance with the signed contracts.

#### Article 21

The sides (USSR Ministry of Health and Mozambican Ministry of Health) will in the period that this protocol is in effect exchange two-three person delegations for a term of up to 2 weeks to study cooperation in the health sphere and exchange experience in the development of health care in the USSR and Mozambique.

#### Article 22

The USSR Ministry of Culture will send Mozambique:

in 1985

1. The holography exhibition "40 Years of the Victory Over Fascism" with two accompanying persons for a 10-day period.

2. Two representatives for familiarization with the work of Soviet specialists and also for rendering advisory assistance in the selection of graduating students for studies in the USSR.

3. A 15-person group of artistes for performances in the Soviet Pavilion at the International Fair in Maputo for a 10-day period.

in 1986

1. A classical or modern dance ensemble.

2. A 12-person group of masters of the arts.

3. An exhibition of the works of bone- and metal-carving craftsmen for a 15-day period with accompanying personnel.

4. A group of artistes of the "Circus on Stage" of up to 25 persons for a period of up to 14 days.

The Mozambican State Secretariat for Culture will send the USSR:

in 1985

1. A three-person delegation of cultural figures for familiarization with the cultural life of the USSR for a 14-day period.
2. A delegation of up to three persons for on-the-spot study for a 10-day period of the possibilities of the training and living conditions of Mozambican scholarship students in the USSR.
3. An exhibition of Mozambican handicrafts with accompanying personnel for a 15-day period.

in 1986

1. A 40-person folklore song and dance ensemble for a 10-day period.
2. Three specialists in the sphere of fine art for improvement courses in accordance with an arrangement between the sides for 9 months from the quota of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

#### Article 23

The USSR Ministry of Culture will send Mozambique in the period that this protocol is in effect up to 10 specialists (on contract) to work in Mozambican cultural-educational establishments.

#### Article 24

The sides will study the possibility of the training or practical experience of up to 10 Mozambican citizens in secondary and higher educational institutions of the USSR Ministry of Culture from the quota of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

#### Article 25

The sides will contribute in every possible way to the development of contacts and relations between the public and creative organizations of the two countries.

For this purpose:

1. The Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries will send and the Mozambican Association of Friendship and Solidarity With the Peoples will receive in 1985 for participation in the Festival of the Soviet Union in Mozambique a two-person delegation and a 20-person artistic group of the Kazakh SSR for a 10-day period.
2. The Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries will send and the Mozambican Association of Friendship and Solidarity With the Peoples will receive in 1986 for participation in the Festival of the Soviet Union in Mozambique a two-person delegation and a 20-person artistic group of the Kazakh SSR for a 10-day period.

3. The Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries will conduct in 1985 a People's Republic of Mozambique Festival in a republic of the USSR.
4. The Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries will conduct in 1986 a Festival of the People's Republic of Mozambique in the Kazakh SSR.
5. The USSR Artists Union and the Mozambican Artists Association will exchange two artists in 1985 for a period of up to 14 days to discuss questions of cooperation and creative work.
6. The "Novosti" Press Agency will annually accept for a period of up to 14 days two Mozambican journalists for familiarization with Soviet reality and the preparation of material on the USSR for the Mozambican press.
7. The Mozambican National Organization of Journalists will send and the USSR Journalists Union will receive in 1985 for a period of 10-14 days a two-three-person delegation of journalists for creative meetings with Soviet journalists and familiarization with life in the USSR.
8. The USSR Journalists Union will send and the Mozambican National Organization of Journalists will receive in 1986 for a period of 10-12 days a two-three-person journalists delegation for creative meetings with Mozambican journalists and familiarization with life in Mozambique.
9. The USSR Composers Union will send in 1985 for a period of up to 10 days a two-person delegation of Soviet composers for familiarization with musical life in Mozambique and creative meetings with Mozambican composers and lectures on the work of Soviet composers.
10. The USSR Composers Union will receive in 1986 for a period of up to 10 days a two-person Mozambican composers delegation for familiarization with musical life in the USSR and creative meetings with Soviet composers.
11. The USSR Writers Union and the Mozambican Writers Association will annually exchange for a 10-day period two-person writers delegations for creative meetings and familiarization with the literary life of the two countries.
12. The Soviet War Veterans Committee will receive in 1985 for a period of up to 10 days a two-three-person delegation of Mozambican veterans of the national liberation war.
13. The Soviet War Veterans Committee will send in 1986 for a period of up to 10 days and the Mozambican State Secretariat for the Affairs of Veterans of the Armed Struggle for National Liberation will receive a two-three-person delegation of Great Patriotic War veterans.

#### Article 26

The Mozambican National Library will continue to exchange literature, periodicals and book exhibits with the USSR State Library imeni V.I. Lenin and also with the All-Union State Library of Foreign Literature in Moscow.

#### Article 27

The Soviet side (USSR State Committee for Cinematography) will conduct in 1985 and 1986 Soviet Film Weeks devoted to the anniversaries of the Great October. Two-person delegations of motion picture figures will be sent to take part in the Soviet Film Weeks for a 15-day period.

#### Article 28

The Mozambican side will send a three-person delegation of motion picture workers for a 14-day period and films for participation in the 14th International Film Festival in Moscow in 1985.

#### Article 29

The Mozambican side will send a three-person delegation of motion picture workers for 10 days and films for participation in the Ninth International Film Festival of Asian, African and Latin American Countries in Tashkent in 1986.

#### Article 30

The Soviet side (USSR State Committee for Cinematography) will receive in 1985 a two-person delegation of Mozambican motion picture figures for a 15-day period for the premiere of a Mozambican documentary devoted to the 10th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Mozambique.

The Mozambican side will contribute to the organization in the USSR of two Mozambican film weeks.

#### Article 31

The USSR State Committee for Cinematography and the Mozambican National Motion Picture Institute will in the period that this protocol is in effect start work on a joint feature film.

#### Article 32

The sides will promote the exchange of television and radio programs in accordance with agreements concluded between the two countries' television and radio organizations.

#### Article 33

The USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and Mozambican National Television and Radio will exchange for a 10-day period two-person delegations in 1985-1986 to discuss questions of cooperation.

#### Article 34

The Soviet side ("International Book" All-Union Association) will conduct in Mozambique in 1985 and 1986 sales-exhibitions of Soviet books, periodicals and phonograph records and stamps. The Mozambican side will render the necessary assistance in holding such exhibitions.

#### Article 35

The Mozambican side (National Book and Record Institute) will send for a 10-day period a two-person delegation in 1985 to participate in the Moscow International Book Fair-Exhibition.

#### Article 36

The Soviet side (All-Union Copyright Agency) will receive in 1985 for a 7-day period a two-person delegation of the Mozambican Ministry of Information for negotiations on cooperation.

#### Article 37

The sides will promote the development of cooperation between the two countries' sports organizations in accordance with an understanding reached between them.

#### Article 38

This protocol does not preclude other measures which could be implemented in accordance with the mutual consent of the sides and in the interests of both countries.

#### Article 39

Given the absence of a special arrangement, financial questions connected with realization of this protocol will be regulated on the basis of reciprocity, namely, the sender side will pay for the expenses connected with the return travel of delegations and individual representatives, and the host side will incur all expenditure during their stay in the country.

Done at Maputo on 28 March 1985 in two copies, each in Russian and Portuguese, both texts of equal force, moreover.

pp the USSR Government

pp the government of the People's  
Republic of Mozambique

Yu.A. Kirichenko

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CSO: 1807/426

END